

# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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## VIEWS AND REVIEWS

*Mr. Hughes  
Resigns*

Mr. Hughes has resigned as president of the National Municipal League. He felt that the assumption of official duties at Washington would prevent his giving the necessary attention to League affairs and that he must therefore withdraw from its active headship. While the League loses a president the country gains a secretary of state, and the sincere good wishes of our officers and members go with him. He has been good enough to say that it has been a great pleasure to be associated with us and that he leaves our work with reluctance.

Mr. Hughes really believes in the League. His good humor, practical judgment and scientific attitude to governmental matters will be sorely missed from our counsels.

*Superfluous  
Government*

Disinterested observers usually agree that county govern-

ment superimposed upon a city of any considerable size is a useless extravagance. Political prodigality reaches its lowest level when numerous administrative commissions, and elective boards with taxing powers are set up in the territory already under city and county governments. Multnomah county, Oregon, has eighty taxing authorities. At each regular election a

voter of Portland is confronted by a ballot containing 87 separate public offices. The present legislature is considering a constitutional amendment consolidating most of the 80 taxing authorities into the city and county of Portland.

While Portland may be an extreme example, other cities are troubled in the same manner. Chicago, for example, or Seattle, St. Louis, Philadelphia or Cleveland. In Philadelphia, as was shown in the February REVIEW, a number of independent agencies finance themselves out of city funds. If the council has not seen fit to appropriate money for some service, the corresponding agency, perhaps the county commissioners, secures a mandamus against the city treasurer ordering him to pay over the funds.

But whenever some exasperated citizens move to abolish the intricate network of governmental units, politicians talk as if there was such a thing as a vested interest in the present disorganization. Access to the spoils of the existing system becomes hallowed by time, and interference is resented as an infringement upon a sacred right.

*Who Is to  
Be Taxed*

Representative Good, chairman of the House committee on appropriations, is not in favor of taxing

the business of every going concern, as such taxes, on a rising scale, stultify business and finally are unloaded on the overburdened shoulders of the ultimate consumer. The excess profits tax is cast into the scrap heap with the going concern tax by Mr. Good, who favors heavy taxes on luxuries, particularly on beverages and tobacco. He does not state whether he expects to increase tax receipts or decrease consumption of these two articles. A high enough tax rate might almost meet the present expectations of the most ardent reformers. A tax of 60 cents per horse power on all automobiles is urged in spite of the disclaimer of the tax on going concerns. And there may be some of our farmers who, having discarded horses, find automobiles tools of trade and means of necessary transportation. Not all the motor-cars which are owned and are operated in this country are limousines with liveried drivers.

It is indeed difficult to find the right people in the right proportion to pay the enormous federal taxes. Big business and little business for once unite and exclaim "how can we expand if we must pay high taxes?" The farmers, one and all, not only repudiate the idea of paying high taxes but claim the help of a protective tariff. The consumer protests that he cannot carry the burden already put upon him and must not be expected to tote the whole war debt.

And no doubt if posterity could speak, the next generation would protest against the suggestion that the war debt should be spread over a period of fifty or possibly a hundred years. What is a poor legislator to do in the face of protests from constituents on every plan suggested? Why, pass the buck to posterity, of course; posterity cannot protest.

H. J.

*Split Sessions  
of the Legislature*

The radical west and the conservative east exchanged places for a moment last elec-

tion day. West Virginia voters approved an amendment for divided sessions of the legislature, while Oregon turned it down by a two to one vote. The West Virginia legislature will hereafter meet for introduction of bills. Within fifteen days a recess will be taken for approximately eight weeks. On reassembling no bill shall be introduced except by a four-fifths vote of each house taken by yeas and nays. The defeated Oregon measure provided that the first period of forty days would be devoted to the consideration and introduction of bills. After a recess of about eight weeks the legislature was to reassemble for ten days for final consideration of measures.

Other states have been slow in following California's example of several years ago. It is an expression of growing dissatisfaction with our legislatures. It is doubtful whether results in California have justified early expectation, and we may expect West Virginia to be disappointed. The sad plight of our legislatures will not be remedied by changes in procedure, nor until we recognize the impossible burdens which our present traditions of legislative functions impose upon those maligned bodies.

The Frenchman, de Tocqueville, observing democracy in America almost a century ago, was struck by the lack of centralized administration such as Europe was acquainted with. In America the legislatures penetrated to the very core of administration; the law descended to minute details. The local functionaries of administration were controlled not by superior administrative officers, but by detailed statutes. Here may be found one cause of the "legislative glut."



# CHICAGO'S POLITICAL DECLINE

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

CHICAGO, as everyone knows, has the federal plan of city government.

It is supposed to be "council governed." This phrase was first used by former Mayor Carter Harrison, and it has become classical. The mayor, under the Chicago scheme of government, has the veto power, the power of appointment, and the right to preside over the sessions of the city council. He has always had great influence, legal and extra-legal. Still, the city has been "council governed."

For many years the city council was inefficient and corrupt. The leaders of the council were rank spoilsmen and wasters. Some of them were worse than wasters. The word "alderman" was a byword and reproach. Decent and educated citizens hardly cared to run for that office.

## CHICAGO CORRUPTED

What happened? The Municipal Voters' League—long famous for its success as well as for its tact and wisdom—was organized to reclaim the city council and give Chicago honest, competent, reasonably progressive administration. The League is 26 years old. It has accomplished great things. It may accomplish more great things. But at this juncture it is rather disheartened, though bravely refusing to yield to the spirit of pessimism and despair. What the League has to say respecting Chicago's political and governmental conditions to-day has national and profound significance. Let us make room for the League's own story of a remarkable series of untoward developments. In its twenty-

sixth preliminary report on aldermanic records, it said by way of introduction:

Five years ago the city council of Chicago was a strong, able legislative body with an honest and fearless majority. Its leaders were men of real influence and ability. Chicago at that time was truly a council-governed city,—a fact of which its citizens were justifiably proud.

This condition had not been brought about without a fight. In the old Yerkes days the council was so corrupt that all important franchises were under suspicion of having been procured through graft. Boodling became so notorious that the people were aroused, public indignation meetings were held, and the Municipal Voters' League was organized to keep tab on the aldermen and to seek the election of honest men.

Chicago, squarely facing the problems of corruption and maladministration in public office, routed the boodlers and "gray wolves," and for the next 20 years we had a city council in which the decent, honest and independent men prevailed.

Then in 1915 came the election of William Hale Thompson as mayor. With Thompson came into power a political clique which gradually and insidiously annexed, one after another, practically every job and every political office in the administration of the city.

With the control of patronage, and the control of huge expenditures of the people's money, it became comparatively easy for the Thompson-Lundin machine to gain complete control of the Republican party in Cook county, and the presidential landslide last November enabled them to annex the election machinery, the state's attorney's office and the trustees of the sanitary district.

The result is that we have to-day a condition unparalleled in the history of Chicago; the absolute domination, by a small political ring, of virtually all of the governmental activities of the community.

What has been the result of these five years of the citizens of Chicago?

We have seen the administration of the civil service become a coarse farce. We have wit-

nessed our public school system, an institution we had hoped was sacred, made the battle ground of cynical spoilsmen. . . .

Meanwhile what has happened to the council?

A majority of the men of aggressive personality who led the council five years ago have been driven out by the mayor and his followers. A steady war of extermination has been waged against every man opposed to the will of the city administration and courageous enough to think for himself. Of the 70 aldermen who sat in the council five years ago, only 20 remain. Some quit in disgust. Others began to vote as the administration dictated.

Gradually the council surrendered, and to-day all except a mere handful get their tip on how to vote from the mayor's floor leader in the council.

Chicago is no longer a council-governed city. This is the one fact of supreme importance about the aldermanic situation.

The quotation is long, but the interesting story could not be told in fewer words.

#### THE EIGHT-CENT FARE ISSUE

Since the story was written the city council has capped the climax by surrendering to the mayor and his machine on the vital question of public utility control and regulation. It adopted, without a single dissenting vote, a resolution offered by the mayor's floor leader and prepared by the mayor's legal adviser—a resolution which declares the franchises and contracts under which the street railroad companies have been operating since 1907 "canceled, abrogated and annulled." Several of the aldermen declared the resolution to be pure buncombe, since the council has no power to abrogate contracts or declare forfeitures. But, they said, the mayor "demanded" the adoption of the resolution, and there is no harm in it, as the courts will have to determine every issue or point involved in the attempted forfeiture.

This explanation is lame and irrelevant. The council was bound to use

its own judgment in the premises. Was there real justification for the resolution? Would it serve the public interest? Would it promote a settlement of the traction question and take it out of factional and spoils politics? The council simply abdicated and furnished further proof of the assertion that Chicago is no longer a council-governed city.

What the mayor will do with his signal victory, what course the controversy regarding local transportation, the eight-cent fare (in force by virtue of orders of the Illinois state board of public utilities), and municipal ownership of the street-car system, favored by the mayor, will take in the courts, or in the forum of public opinion cannot be foretold. The purpose of this paper is to direct attention to a "modern instance" illustrating the vice of divided municipal government and the curse of patronage and spoils controlled by a powerful and well-financed machine.

#### THE MACHINE'S SHREWD POLICY

What has made the mayor so powerful; what has enabled him to secure complete control of the council and to override all honest, intelligent opposition?

To say that the city hall machine is audacious, unscrupulous, ruthless, and that it has unlimited resources, is not to explain the situation satisfactorily. Money and patronage alone, or money plus patronage plus humbug, would not have destroyed government by council in Chicago. The upright, able, sincere and progressive members of the council could not have been driven out or defeated by the spoils machine. The voters of Chicago are not all spoilsmen, or fools, or dupes. The majority of them are intelligent and honest, and favor good government.



The truth is that the mayor and his machine have been allowed to monopolize the progressive and dramatic issues of the day. They have successfully posed as the resolute champions of the public interest, the foes of privilege and corporate greed, the exponents of democratic and modern doctrines. The mayor has fought the traction companies, the gas company, the other public utilities. He has fought tax-dodging and promised fair and equal tax laws. He has denounced profiteering. He has advocated the municipalization of the street railroads, and "home rule" in the domain of local utilities. He has defended the right of free speech and a free press. He has advocated the referendum. He never fails to appeal to progressive and democratic principles.

Tens of thousands of well-meaning voters hear him gladly and regard him as the defender of popular rights and popular interests. His ideas are vague, unsound, impracticable. He is ignorant of political, economic and social science. He makes promises which he cannot possibly redeem. He attacks persons and corporations without producing any valid evidence against them. But the fact that he attacks the big and the powerful interests in and out of season overshadows every-

thing else. Popular belief in him makes it possible for the spoilsmen and wasters of the city hall machine to commit all the offences with which the Municipal Voters' League justly charges him.

Progressive and aggressive leadership in the council and in the community at large would have made the city hall machine comparatively impotent. But there has been no such leadership. The voters are not greatly interested in small economies, in talk regarding efficiency and method in administration. They are seeking light on the more vital and burning questions of utility regulation, municipal ownership, equal taxation and direct legislation. The enemy they now fear is not official graft, but privilege.

The mayor's machine may or may not "deliver" anything progressive. But for the time being it has usurped democratic and progressive leadership. It has taken advantage of the failure of the friends of good government to modernize and *dramatize* their platform, to respond to new occasions and new duties.

The remedy for Thompsonism is genuine, sincere Progressivism. The remedy for demagoguery is honest, enlightened, fair defense of the rights and interests of the public.

## MILWAUKEE'S NEW PENSION PLAN

BY PAUL STUDENSKY

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### I

THE bad financial condition into which most of our pension funds eventually sink and the inequities, jealousies and confusion which they usually create among various classes of employees increasingly attract the

attention of the thoughtful men among legislators, administrators, citizens interested in good government and employes themselves. Upon turning to the causes of the bad condition and the possible remedies, the inquiring mind inevitably finds that the legislation governing the pension funds has been

framed without any knowledge of the rules which should govern the financing and the benefits of a pension system, that neither at the time the laws were framed nor since then were the costs involved actuarially determined, adequate revenues provided and any attempt made to determine and establish a comprehensive and fair pension policy and that nothing short of a fundamental reorganization of the pension systems on a sound basis can improve the situation.

The first to realize this were the state of Massachusetts and the city of New York. New Jersey, Illinois, Vermont, Connecticut and Ohio, and recently New York state have followed suit. Each of these had (and some still have) legislative, administrative or employes' commissions or committees at work on the problem. But the task of reorganization is a difficult one, for the unsound systems take deep root and often resist reorganization. Thus it happens that most of these commissions have either limited themselves to a certain branch of service or, having occupied themselves with the entire pension field in the state or city, have succeeded after years of work in securing the enactment of only a part of their program. And in one instance—that of the Illinois commission—none of its recommendations have been placed on the statutes.

Several undertakings of similar nature but lesser scope are now in progress. It is proposed to review in these pages results of these investigations as these are published. The series will start with a review of the report just issued of the Milwaukee pension commission.

## II

The city of Milwaukee has three pension funds. They cover policemen,

firemen and teachers. More than half of the employes are not covered by any pension legislation. The three funds began to trouble the city a few years ago, and groups of employes not covered by any provision began to insist on being covered. As a result, a little over a year ago, a municipal pension commission was created under the authority of the legislature for the purpose of investigating the situation.

After pointing to the unsoundness of the existing funds the commission recommends their abolition and the establishment of a new general system that would embrace the entire municipal service and operate on an actuarial basis. The system is to consist of four funds. Three would cover the three groups now provided for and the fourth, all those not now provided. Each fund is to be managed by a board of five members, three of whom are to be representatives of the employes. It is proposed to create a permanent commission that will supervise the operation of the four funds.

The project follows the precedent of the Massachusetts system in that it sets the same uniform rate of contribution for entrants of all ages, and provides upon retirement whatever annuity the accumulations will provide. But it differs in that the contribution consists of several elements, and the division of cost between the employer and the employe is unequal. For superannuation the employes contribute 3 per cent of their salary and the city 9 per cent in case of policemen and firemen and 6 per cent for other employes. For annuities to widows in case of ordinary death the employes pay 1 per cent and the city  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 per cent for the uniformed and ununiformed classes respectively. Ordinary disability is covered by a contribution of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent each from the employe and from the city, and administrative



expenses by  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a per cent from each. Disability and death in performance of duty and children's benefits are to be paid entirely by the city. To summarize, the employes will contribute about 4.6 per cent if men and 3.6 per cent if women (the difference being due to the 1 per cent contribution for widows' benefits paid by the men but not by women), while the city will pay 13.75 per cent for policemen and firemen, 9.75 per cent for other male employes and 7.50 per cent for women. In addition the city will pay whatever the accidental disability and accidental death benefits will cost, pay all the pensions granted under the old laws and now outstanding, and furthermore make up its contributions at the rate of 9 and 6 per cent for all prior years of service of its present employes, with compound interest. As the sum of these past contributions is considerable, being estimated at almost \$9,000,000, it is proposed to raise it by means of equal annual instalments during a period of 40 years. The obligation under the existing pension roll is also to be liquidated by means of equal annual instalments during the same period. It would appear that the total contributions of the city on account of all the items would exceed in the police and fire funds 20 per cent of the payroll during the initial period.

Retirement is allowed on superannuation at the age of 57 for policemen and firemen and at 65 for other employes, provided the employe has rendered 15 years of service; or before that time in case of ordinary or accidental disability. The benefits are as follows: In case of superannuation an annuity of such amount as the accumulations will provide, in case of ordinary disability (including sickness of more than 15 days' duration), an annuity of half pay but payable only for a short time, maximum one fourth of the time

of his total service and in no case more than five years, substituted thereafter by such annuity as the accumulations will provide; and in case of accidental disability an annuity of 55 per cent of the salary payable until superannuation, and substituted then by an annuity depending on the accumulations. While the annuity of 50 or 55 per cent is paid the employe and the city continue to contribute so as to swell his eventual accumulations.

The widow is entitled to an annuity purchased by the combined contribution of 3 or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. If the death occurs before retirement she is entitled to an additional annuity from the contributions of 6 or 9 per cent made by and on behalf of the employe for his regular retirement, provided that the total annuity does not exceed the one to which she could have been entitled had he lived until regular retirement. In case of death in performance of duty the widow is entitled to such an annuity as she would have received had her husband lived until regular retirement.

In case of resignation or dismissal the employe is entitled to his own contribution with interest, and if he has rendered 10 years of service or more, also one-tenth fraction of the accumulations from the city's contributions for each year of service above 10. In other words an employe who rendered 20 years of service will upon resignation or dismissal receive not only his contributions but also all the contributions made by the city on his account, with interest.

### III

Students of the pension question will differ in their estimation of some of the main features of the Milwaukee project. Some will criticize it because of its failure to regulate the benefits by graduating to some degree the rates of contributions according to entrance

age; so that the younger entrants should not pay more than necessary and the older entrants less than necessary to secure adequate benefits, and that the annuities provided by the accumulations should not be too large in some cases and too small in others. Others will praise it for this very failure, because of the complications involved in the graduation. Some will regret that no comprehensive investigation has been made of the mortality in the various occupational groups of the Milwaukee service and no tables reflecting the mortality have been constructed (as this has been done in several states and cities), but a general experience table (the so-called American experience), which takes no account of the different risks of men, women and occupational groups and cannot be fully appropriate to the case, has been adopted. Others will approve this method, because of its ready-made, though crude, result. Those who consider the tendency of existing systems towards an equal division of cost between employer and employe sound will question the wisdom of the feature making the employer's share from two to three times that of the employe and the resulting burden rather considerable; while others will welcome this very feature. The refund of the employer's contributions (apportioned according to length of service) will be criticized by some as extreme or perhaps somewhat precipitate and praised by others as eminently just.

The life insurance feature, which is provided in the plan by means of savings (by the employe and the city on his account) will raise in many minds the question: Once life insurance is given so prominent a place as, very commendably, has been given in this project, should it not have been founded to a greater extent on an insurance than on a savings basis? A premium of 3 or 3½ per cent of salary will accumulate a sum of a hundred or a few hundred dollars at the utmost in the early years. Should death occur then the annuity to the widow purchased thereby will be a mere pittance. The same premium on an insurance basis, that would average the risks, would provide a sum ranging between \$2,000 and \$4,000. The contingency of death in the early years is probably most disquieting. It is true, the plan somewhat relieves the pressure by providing at the expense of the city annuities of \$10 per month for each child, or \$15 if there is a widow. But these sums are small and it may be said with some foundation border too much on poor relief and only emphasize the desirability of a more effective insurance provision.

There may be disagreements on these and other points of the plan, but there will be substantial agreement on one fundamental point: the Milwaukee plan is based on an actuarial reserve basis, and to that extent will be financed soundly. It certainly deserves enactment and admission into the family of sound actuarial pension systems.

"What Do the Sixty Per Cent Want?"—A startling revelation of the fundamental causes of national discontent, by the father of the Own-Your-Home movement; endorsed by manufacturers, business men, labor leaders, statesmen, editors, clergymen, students of sociology. The only survey of the kind that has been published, Ten copies mailed postpaid for \$1. Discount for quantity orders with special imprint. J. W. BURKE CO., Publishers, Macon, Georgia.

Adv.



# COUNTRY PLANNING AND NATIONAL FORESTS

BY W. B. GREELEY  
*Chief United States Forest Service*

*How shall we plan to secure highest returns from our forests in timber, agriculture, health and recreation? It is a nation's job. ::*

I TAKE it that "country planning" is a younger sister of the earlier movement for the conservation of natural resources. The basic idea of each is the same. Each is a challenge of the theory of laissez faire, whether applied to our forests, water resources, and agricultural soils, or to the lives of women and children employed in factories, to rural communities, or to country highways. Each is the assertion of intelligent, plan-wise community effort, whether the community be village, state, or nation, in order to serve the highest interests of the community in the long run.

The national forests to-day contain 156 million acres. To the large areas of public timberland which have been kept in this form of national ownership, chiefly in the west, have been added nearly two million acres of mountain forests in the Appalachian ranges, purchased under the Weeks Act for the primary purpose of protecting the watersheds of navigable streams. This vast area of publicly owned forests represents a national enterprise of no mean proportions. Its varied resources offer almost unlimited opportunities for public service. They embrace the headwaters of hundreds of important streams which are feeders of waterways, irrigation, and water-power development, and whose protection as water sources is a public function of the highest importance. They contain about one-fourth of our dwindling stocks of

timber whose protection from fire and use under methods of cutting which perpetuate the forest will contribute in no small measure to our future supply of wood and its many products. They contain large areas of denuded forest land which is being brought back into productivity, sometimes by protection from fire alone, in other cases by planting, and is growing raw material for the sawmills and paper factories of the future. They contain extensive mountain pastures which furnish summer forage for some ten million cattle, sheep and other range animals, and are thus an item of no mean importance in supplying the national larder. They contain a great and little appreciated resource in wild life, not only the big game but the fish, small animals, and birds which have meant so much to the outdoors of America. And they contain literally unlimited opportunities for public recreation.

## PLAN-WISE DEVELOPMENT NEEDED

I question if any public enterprise rests upon the basic ideas of country planning so largely as the national forests. This conception must underlie the development of each resource by itself, and secondly the development of all of them as a whole. It is not sufficient simply to cut their full-grown timber under methods which will speedily restock the ground with young trees. The yield of wood from these



public properties must be made stable and permanent. The national forests have an important economic relation as producers of raw material to local communities and industries. In many instances they stand as the principal means of livelihood for manufacturing communities and large groups of labor and as the provider of raw materials for many industrial enterprises.

This economic relationship to surrounding communities and industries must be made stable. The sawdust piles and abandoned mill towns of forest regions in the east must not be duplicated in the public forests of the west. The great problem of depleted raw material which now confronts so many forest industries in New England, in the lake states, and in the wood-manufacturing centers of Illinois and Indiana must be foreseen and solved before it appears in developing the forest properties of the nation itself. The current use of their timber must be limited to what they can produce; and this material must be utilized by means which spell the most permanent industrial development and the most stable community life in the national forest regions. And thereby will we attack directly one of the social problems of the west, the problem of the nomadic lumber jack, product of the roving and unstable lumber camp, the man who often turns bolshevist solely because he is homeless and voteless and has no community roots.

#### NATIONAL FORESTS AND AGRICULTURE

Take another illustration of the need for plan-wise rather than catch-as-catch-can development of the national forests. They grow each year enormous quantities of summer forage which should be utilized for the production of livestock. Now it is one thing to make this forage available

to cattle and sheep during the summer months under control sufficient to protect growing trees and stream flow, to give each kind of livestock its allotted place, and by simple rules of fair play to have the cowboy and the sheepherder dwell together in peace and goodwill. But it is another thing to utilize these summer pastures so that they will support stable agricultural communities instead of nomadic herdsmen who summer in the timberlands and winter on the deserts over the divide; to encourage and maintain 20 or 30 homesteads instead of a single huge stock ranch; and to bring into use the undeveloped agricultural land in the valleys below the national forest ranges for growing winter forage which supplements the summer pastures. Just as the national forest timber should support permanent industrial committees with their groups of homes and their coterie of workers, so the national forest ranges should support stable communities of farmers who will develop to the maximum the agricultural lands in their regions and, between the summer range in the mountains and the valley haystacks for winter feeding, make the largest total contribution of meat and hides and wool to the nation's supply.

#### SUMMER CAMPING AND FISHING

The development of recreation and the conservation of wild life show further needs for foresight and careful planning in the endeavor to make these public resources of the greatest public service. First come the camper, fisherman, or hunter, seeking the trail or the spot which will take him off the beaten path and give him the freedom of the hills. Then come the tourists, hundreds of thousands of them, who stick to the high roads but none the less crave the joys of the open camp.



fire. Then we have the community camp, the Boy Scouts' camp, the Y. M. C. A. camp, and fresh air camps for large cities. And then comes the family seeking some bit of shady ground where they can pitch their tent, or build their log shack, or erect a palatial cottage and make a summer home for occupancy year after year. And then comes the summer hotel with its large requirements in grounds and facilities. The doors of the national forests are open to them all. There is no use of these areas that will return a greater gain to the people of the United States in the long run than the health and recreation offered by their pine forests, their mountain streams, and their high ranges. But it is no small task to fit each of these desirable forms of recreation into its proper relation with the others.

#### ALL RESOURCES MANAGED AS A UNIT

A plan-wise development of each important resource of the national forests is a clear-cut necessity. But this necessity is still more absolute when we consider their resources as a whole. The harvesting of timber crops must in many instances be adjusted to the protection of watersheds of special importance for irrigation or power. Good forestry for the production of wood is not always good forestry for the regulation of run-off. Timber use must often be adjusted to the preservation of fine scenery or of beautiful surroundings for recreation areas. The reservation of belts of uncut forest bordering well-traveled roads, camp grounds, or groups of summer homes is a fixed policy of the forest service. Water-power developments must be fitted into the use of watersheds for other purposes, including the utilization of their timber and opportunities for recreation. What we are seeking

is a carefully planned, well-rounded development of these resources which will render them, *as a whole*, of the maximum public service in the long run. The starting point is usually to determine what particular form of use represents the dominant public benefit to be gained from a particular national forest area; and to build up on that, fitting other uses of the forest or land into the places which they can properly occupy without impairing the use of dominant benefit. And I question if any enterprise in country planning is more fascinating or contains greater possibilities than the development of the national forests along these lines.

#### TIMBER SHORTAGE

The wisdom of creating public forests as a national policy is demonstrated to-day more clearly than ever before. Many of the forest regions of the United States which hitherto have contributed most largely to our national lumber pile are exhausted or approaching exhaustion. The forest industries of the country are moving westward. We are experiencing in the shortage or high price of important forest products, like newsprint and many grades of lumber, not alone a temporary condition arising from the evils of inflation, but in part a permanent condition due either to shortage of the old supplies of timber, or to inability to increase production from the old sources of raw material. The people of the United States are fortunate, indeed, that in working out the economic problems arising from a diminished supply of wood, an essential raw material, they can fall back upon these publicly owned resources not only in standing timber but in forest-growing land.

More than that, public forests will to a large degree set the pace and lead

the way toward a continuous production of timber on all of our forest lands, toward the time when we will supply ourselves with wood as we supply ourselves with wheat, by successive crops of timber grown on forest land with intelligence and care. Every public forest is like a settlement house or a community center in a tenement district. Its influence extends over the neighborhood. It becomes a center of actual demonstration and practical education in forestry methods. Co-operative effort among timberland owners for the prevention of forest fires is built up around it. In its methods of cutting and growing timber, its disposal of fire-breeding slash, its demonstration of the actual costs and results of forest practice it carries conviction to the private owners of timber round about where argument would be fruitless. It will be true in the United States as it has been in France, in Sweden, and in Italy, that a core of publicly owned forests under technical public administration is the pivotal point in national progress toward the right use of all forest lands.

#### PUBLIC FOREST OWNERSHIP

Aside from what they are in themselves, the national forests stand for the principle of public forest ownership. This principle has a definite place in nation-wide planning. It will hold with even greater force in the future than in the past. The United States contains 80 odd million acres of idle forest land, whose original growth has been removed by logging or fire and whose devastation is so complete that it might almost be classed as part of the great American desert. These areas, or most of them, can be restored to productive forests only by artificial methods; and by and large that is work for the nation or state rather than the

individual. We still have many watersheds upon which manufacturing centers depend for their source of power, or large communities for domestic water, or agricultural regions for irrigation, or inland waterways for navigability, but on which the protection of the precious sources of water is still left almost wholly to chance. Indeed, many acute problems arising from the effect of forest denudation upon water sources are making themselves felt, such as the lowered water table in Indiana and the dropping level of some of our Great Lakes, not to mention the ever-present hazard of destructive floods.

From every standpoint, not alone of economic needs but of preserving the charm of woodland in country America, of conserving our wild life, and of affording greater opportunities for recreation and health to the masses of our people, there should be a large extension in public forest ownership. Under the Weeks Law of 1911 the federal government definitely embarked upon acquiring the upper watersheds of important navigable rivers. Thus far nearly two million acres have been purchased under this far-sighted and constructive act toward a program originally fixed at six million acres for the protection of navigation alone, in the Southern Appalachian ranges and in the White Mountains. The extension of these national purchases has been brought to a halt by the exhaustion of federal appropriations. They should be carried forward on a much larger scale, not only to complete a comprehensive plan for the protection of important watersheds in the eastern states, but also to include denuded lands which can best be restored to productive forests by the federal government.

There is every reason as well why the several states should participate in



the extension of publicly owned forests. There will be no conflict between state and federal activities in so large a field. A number of our states have shown commendable enterprise in thus building for the future welfare of their own people and industries. New York has built up a series of state forests now aggregating 1,888,000 acres, serving chiefly as state parks. Pennsylvania has acquired 1,067,000 acres, principally cut-over and second growth lands, which are now being brought back, under state direction and care, to productive woodlands, and will restore something of the former pres-

tige of this great commonwealth as a land of forests. No more admirable step in this direction has been taken than the recent action of Massachusetts in initiating a plan for the purchase of 100,000 acres of denuded forest lands which are not only to be acquired by the state, but immediately planted so that they may be restored to productivity without delay. Every development of this character, whether through federal or state action, is a direct advance in the solution of our national forestry problem with the many economic and social phases of national life which depend upon it.

## REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT BY PLANNING PUBLIC WORKS

BY JOHN B. ANDREWS

Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation

WHENEVER a tidal wave of unemployment sweeps over the country there are anxious questionings as to responsibility and as to failure to utilize certain definite measures of prevention. Distress—bread lines—soup kitchens—are but the final sharp reminders that lack of forethought is costly. Significantly, with each of these ever-recurring industrial depressions, it is becoming clearer that the only remedy for unemployment is employment.

As most work is carried on under private management it is natural that the chief responsibility for regular employment should be thought of as falling upon private employers. But the managers of public activities—though directly controlling fewer employees in the aggregate—are in a double sense concerned. Not only is a municipality, for example, under special obligations to avoid for its own

employees the distress due to irregularity of work; it is also likely to be charged with part of the cost of maintaining—at least above the starvation line—those who are laid off from private employments.

This two-fold responsibility has naturally suggested that municipalities should at least furnish to their own public employees the assurance of regular work throughout the year. To this there has been added a second proposal, that a part of public work be reserved during those seasons of the year when there is greatest activity in private industries, and pushed forward with vigor when such industries are slack. But in addition to public work so distributed as to reduce seasonal unemployment there are great cyclical periods of industrial depression, coming perhaps at ten-year intervals. It is urged as a third proposition that these emergencies, less frequent but no less

certain, should be similarly met to some degree by reserved funds for timely expenditure upon public works. Public work, it is thus argued, should be made to act as a sponge, absorbing in bad years as well as in slack seasons some of the reserves of private employment, and setting them free again with the return of prosperity in private business.

#### WHAT CITIES HAVE DONE

Of course these suggestions are not new. During the severe unemployment crisis of 1914-15 over 100 cities throughout the country made special provision for carrying on public work of various sorts, such as sewer-building, street and road-making, quarrying, forestry, drainage, waterworks, building, painting, and even clerical duties. The work was maintained for periods ranging from less than a month to more than six months; thousands of men were employed in from two-day to two-week shifts, and hours and rates of pay were as a rule the same as for regular employees on the same grade of labor. In the majority of cases the officials in charge declared that they had secured full efficiency from the workmen, while some even stated that necessary work had been done at a distinct saving.

Many cities in the United States were found speeding up their public works in the early months of 1921, for the purpose of avoiding a wasteful temporary-relief treatment of the unemployed. This was, at least in part, the incentive which led New Bedford to hasten the construction of much needed new schools; Cleveland to hasten toward completion the construction of six large public works costing \$15,000,000; Minneapolis to sell bonds amounting to \$980,000 to finance public work; Philadelphia to

consider spending a million on street repaving; and Milwaukee to plan public works expenditures totalling \$10,000,000 in 1921. Smaller cities from Worcester and Lynn to Seattle and Yakima reported work undertaken under public auspices to relieve unemployment. Detroit's appropriation of \$716,000 for the relief of the unemployed was followed by the mayor's recommendation that the city begin immediately the construction of a bridge over the river to Belle Isle, for which \$3,000,000 was voted at the previous municipal election. And an interesting suggestion in Jamestown, New York, found expression in a resolution adopted by the city council, which favored taking over temporarily the closed down local brick yards for the purpose of manufacturing the 2,160,000 bricks needed by the city for the next summer's street paving.

There is always danger in time of an unemployment crisis that all officials will not distinguish sharply between "made" work—sometimes foolishly urged in time of emergency—and public work that is useful. Experiences with emergency work have not always been gratifying. Poor work, increased expense to the community, and political favoritism in the selection of applicants are among the faults which have frequently interfered with the accomplishment of expected results. On the whole, however, the conviction has been growing that these flaws are not inherent, but due to poor administration, and that, if properly managed, emergency work can be made an important agency in maintaining during slack periods the labor reserves needed when industry is booming.

#### ANTICIPATING HARD TIMES

It is encouraging to find an increasing number of cities recognizing their



responsibility for dealing more intelligently with unemployment. Many of them in their methods already distinguish between the unemployable and the unemployed. That is a great gain. But there is still too little forethought given to the important public task of anticipating the fluctuating demands for labor. Some cities, it is true, have established public employment bureaus which are rendering a valuable social service in furnishing information to individual employers seeking help and to individual workmen hunting jobs. This is an important public function which in neutral and efficient hands justifies itself in somewhat the same way that our system of public education has been justified. But probably no city in this country has yet utilized these employment information stations as a part of its long-time advance planning of public works expenditures. The principal reason for this is not, as might at first be supposed, the inefficiency of the public employment service. Some of the bureaus have information of great value. Moreover it is no longer a lack of information in the hands of specialists in credit matters, that prevents public officials from predicting with reasonable accuracy when business depressions are coming. On this part of the problem real scientific progress has been made. The arrival of business depression with resulting unemployment can now be predicted months in advance. Lack of progress by our city officials in planning to meet unemployment crises is due in most instances to a failure to give any consideration at all to efforts to counteract fluctuations in the labor market as an item in determining the proper time for expenditures upon public works.

There are, of course, additional reasons for this lack of forethought regarding unemployment. Some of

these are perhaps inherent in our two-party political system with the temptation to "make a record" under the name of *economy*, which so frequently turns out to be false economy. Some of the difficulties are bound up with legislative restrictions which with care might well be changed. Extensive public work is frequently impossible because of charter limitations on the expenditure of local money. For example, the common council of Bridgeport, aroused by much unemployment and the threat of more early in the Winter of 1920-1921, authorized a \$500,000 bond issue for public work. Under its home rule act, the city could issue bonds upon a referendum, but when the state legislature is in session it is usually both quicker and cheaper to get authority from the state capitol. And weeks later Bridgeport was still waiting the desired approval of the legislature. Since most state legislatures meet in regular session but once in two years, reliance upon their action after a crisis has developed is likely to result in disappointments and costly delay.

However, despite many perplexing obstacles, cities in various parts of the world are now attacking the problem of unemployment with a sense of community responsibility. It is at last coming to be recognized, also, that to wait until the emergency has overtaken the community before the movement to provide public work is set on foot is wasteful and productive of unnecessary hardship. Public officials are more and more turning their attention to preparing in ordinary times for the period of stress which experience has shown is likely to follow in a few months or a few years.

In France and Germany the policy of pushing public work in slack seasons has had a considerable development under municipal control. In London, since 1905, the policy of giving tem-

porary relief employment has been embodied in the law by which the central administrative body is authorized to provide temporary work for the unemployed. But far more important is the growing practice of planning public work longer in advance to meet coming slack periods.

#### POSTPONEMENT OF WORK UNTIL PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT

In a survey made under my direction in 1915 of the experience of 115 different communities in attempting to deal with the exceptional unemployment of that year, it was found that many American cities were then intelligently planning to do their part toward avoiding similar disaster in the future. Several progressive communities made specific plans to reserve work on unimproved parks, sewers, and streets for future periods. Several, also, without planning definite undertakings, issued bonds or established contingent funds to provide the resources when needed. In Alameda, California, a special annual tax of one cent on each \$100 of taxable property was established in 1915 to provide a fund for hiring on public work "unemployed or indigent residents."

Possibilities for improvement in present practices were shown by more intensive studies in several cities, including Boston. It was found, for example, that Boston's experience with a working force in contract paving jobs ran as shown below.

This tabulation, as F. Ernest Richter pointed out at the time, shows a striking correlation with mean monthly temperatures, but an important influence is the ending of the fiscal year on

January 31. Although the budget is made up in November, the council with new members which must pass on the budget sits first in February, and it is April or May before many new contracts can be let.

Contrast the above with possibilities in Courtland, New York, where the charter gives the public works department power to pave or repair any street, build sewers or lay water-mains without a public "letting." It was found in December, 1915, that the Courtland board designates work upon streets three years in advance and keeps its labor constantly employed. The board, by the way, was non-partisan and had been in office twenty-one years.

In May, 1919, W. Clifford Clark, of Queens University, sent a questionnaire to 50 Canadian cities, and from 36 replies learned that at least eight of these cities construct sewers or water-mains during the winter months as definite policy. Thirteen of the other cities had adopted this plan on occasion to relieve unemployment. The kinds of work pronounced highly or fairly successful in winter were sewer work in rock, tunneling, deep excavating, heavy cuts and fills in grading work, concrete construction in large bulk (such as heavy bridge abutments), and construction work in swamp sections where sub-surface water prevails. The degree of success is often dependent on preparation made before the ground is frozen, especially in some construction work where shafts should be sunk before the extreme cold weather.

For a decade Duluth, Minnesota, has reserved much of its sewer work for winter, and reports that the frozen surface proves of decided advantage in retaining the walls of the trench and

PER CENT OF MAXIMUM EMPLOYMENT BY MONTHS IN 1912 AND 1913

	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1912.....	3	8	12	47	78	100	89	95	92	96	93	24
1913.....	0	0	2	26	65	92	100	92	99	74	88	32



that the cost of construction is no greater than in summer. Other cities have experienced a slightly increased cost in winter construction, which they maintain is counterbalanced by a smaller outlay for charity relief and by the greater efficiency resulting from keeping the regular force of workers intact throughout the year.

Such foresighted arrangement of public work is capable of considerable extension, and may be efficaciously used to counteract in some degree cyclical as well as seasonal fluctuations. The English statistician Bowley estimated that if in the United Kingdom a fund were set aside for public work to be pushed ahead in times of depression, an average of \$20,000,000 yearly, or only 3 per cent of the annual appropriation for public works and services, would be sufficient to balance the wage loss from commercial depression. If his suggestion were generally accepted, in each community or country a program of the amount of public work contemplated for several years in advance would be laid out and then carefully planned to be executed in the lean years. Thus public work, instead of declining and thereby accentuating the depression, as is now often the case, would exert a strong influence toward stability. European experience shows that it is essential to the success of such a program that the work be done in the ordinary way, the workers being employed at the standard wage and under the usual working conditions and hired on the basis of efficiency, not merely because they happen to be unemployed.

During the brief period of unusual unemployment in the Winter of 1918-1919, there was a very general resort to the remedy of public work. A large amount was readily available, since all but the most necessary projects had been postponed during the war. The federal department of labor listed

6,285 pieces of work to cost \$1,700,000,000. In Ohio and New York the governors called special conferences of state and city officials with a view to pushing public works. It is difficult to learn the exact effect of this and of similar action in a number of cities, but in the opinion of the special employment assistant to the secretary of war, such activity was the main cause of the decline in unemployment which began to be noticeable by the Spring of 1919.

#### CHARTER LIMITATIONS HAMPER

As the use of public work for relieving unemployment has spread, city officials have increasingly felt the hampering effect of charter limitations on the expenditure of money. Many makeshift devices have been adopted for defeating these restrictions, such as raising money by public subscription, borrowing without interest, or transfer of funds between departments, and in some cases business men have had to furnish bonds to save the city officials from liability. Consequently the conviction has been growing that budgetary methods and, if need be, city charters must be modified to permit greater freedom in the use of money for these undertakings.

The principle under discussion has taken firm hold among those interested in combating involuntary idleness. In 1913, as the result of careful studies in many countries, the following recommendations were laid before the International Conference on Unemployment: (1) That public works be distributed, as far as possible, in such a way that they may be undertaken in dull seasons or during industrial depression; (2) that budget laws be revised to facilitate the accumulation of reserve funds for this purpose; (3) that permanent institutions be created to study the symptoms of depression in

order to advise the authorities when to initiate the reserved work; (4) that such work as land reclamation and improvement of the means of communication, which would tend to increase the permanent demand for labor, be especially undertaken; and (5) that in order to secure the fullest benefits from the reserved work, contracts should be awarded not as units, but separately for each trade. The first official International Labor Conference, meeting at Washington in October, 1919, recommended to Member countries that they should "co-ordinate the execution of all work undertaken under public authority, with a view to reserving such work as far as practicable for periods of unemployment and for districts most affected by it."

In 1921—with three and one-half million less workers employed in industry than a year earlier—it was interest-

ing to see American legislators introducing resolutions in congress and in state assemblies declaring that "it is sound governmental policy to prosecute public works during periods when labor and material are not fully absorbed by private industry." It is significant also that they recognize that "the immediate prosecution of such public works will give employment to large numbers of persons now seeking employment, not only directly on the public works, but indirectly upon the manufacture of the materials required."

Public interest in this subject is increasing. There is special need now for further study by experts in municipal government to determine what are the best means of overcoming political obstacles that make unnecessarily difficult the planning of public works to reduce unemployment.

## WHAT ABOUT THE COUNTRY HIGHWAY?

BY J. HORACE McFARLAND

*President American Civic Association*

ANY discussion of country planning that fails definitely to consider the highway problem would be as actually effective as was the house plan of an amateur friend of mine who was all too proud of his self-sufficient ability to devise a home building. Everything was there on the two main floors—living-room, dining-room and kitchen, bedrooms and bath—but he had omitted to provide or leave room for a stairway from one floor to another. We may plan for farm betterment, for community relations, for the social and economic life, but without the connecting highway they cannot function.

In order to clear myself of any assumption of expertness as to the actual physical detail of highway construction,

let me confess that I propose to use the title and the occasion only to bring forward certain theories in respect to highways in America. I claim no originality for these theories, which as I shall state them will resemble in that respect certain motor-cars that are assembled from purchased parts rather than built from original designs. I will be indeed fortunate if my gathered theorizing travels as well as some of these assembled automobiles.

### WHAT IS A COUNTRY ROAD FOR

What is a country road for? Is the answer that it is a common way to connect homes and towns the only answer? Is it a mere means of connection be-



tween two termini? Or is it a vital artery with many branching minor arteries through which flows the very life-blood that keeps alive the country?

Is the country highway solely for vehicular travel and for such bipeds and quadrupeds as may "take chances" with wagons, trucks and touring-cars indiscriminately? Or ought it be useful, comfortable, restful, for the foot-passenger as well?

What ought the country highway to look like? Is it better the middle-states winding way, passing close to the homes of the countryside, bordered with wire-carrying poles, twisting about according to the political pull of the abutting farmers who wanted this or that field touched or avoided, or is it better a new white gash of concrete, treeless but pole-bordered, straight at all hazards, and denatured of any suspicion of beauty in itself or of any possibility of beauty of prospect?

Let us get on a little further in inquiring about the country highway. As it settles into permanent construction, as it comes to be more largely used by the traffic which the failure of the railroads and our shameful neglect of waterways force upon it, is it to enter every village en route, absorbing the main "street" of that village, and being disturbed in its real function by the varied and interesting even if often silly regulations which the local authorities put upon it? Is this road further to be localized in towns and townships, in boroughs and villages, each with a jurisdiction that intimately relates to the comfort and usefulness of it?

I have asked what the country highway ought to look like. In the knowledge of a growing movement for tree planting and other planting along these country roads, is it not in order to inquire about that planting? Shall we have many miles of the treeless, unshaded roads which are the ideal of at

least some influential road engineers who fear alike the roots and the leaves of the trees; shall we plant a whole state in prim and formal trees, or shall the road reflect what God planted in that Garden of Eden which is nearly all of America?

Then this country highway must have signs to inform the passing user of it. Shall these be actually informing, giving the traveler conveniently what he needs of direction, night as well as day, or shall they continue haphazard, illegible, infrequent, inaccurate, aggravating? Shall there be other signs, those of private advertising, thrust upon the unwilling eyes of the passing public, often introducing danger by obscuring corners and nearly always hiding some feature of the countryside that might gladden the eye or ought to provoke the clean-up spirit?

#### RAILROADS *versus* THE COUNTRY ROAD

Consider the transportation situation of 1920. The railroads are not moving the goods and passengers of the nation with the certainty and celerity which the nation needs. Enmeshed in the coils of former financial webs spun by the spiders of high finance, they are not possessed of that public confidence which would bring them the money they need for rehabilitation and extension. Twelve years ago that prophet as well as prince of the rails, James J. Hill, said they were a quarter century behind the needs of the nation, and they have lagged behind since. Intertwined with a little realized graft of unlimited free transportation given to employes and their families, more than one passenger car in every four is filled with deadheads, joy-riders, at the expense of the ill-served public. The cost of the railroad ton-mile has been recently increased more than a third, and its uncertainty

is steadily increasing, to the painful disadvantage of the business public. The increase in the passenger-mile charge, taking into account over-night accommodations, has been about equal.

But compare the automotive transportation situation for a moment. Better and heavier trucks, operating at lower ton-mile costs, with only one handling of the goods, with a schedule certainly better than the best days of the railroads, made up of individually small units which make extensive and delaying wrecks impossible, it seems certain that the higher grade items of manufacture as well as perishable commodities will come to be transported on our country highways. A family may easily now figure definite economy even with the present road inadequacies in its trips for hundreds of miles by motor, having on the plus side the added convenience, comfort and pleasure. Commercial concerns maintain now fleets of small cars in which their travelers cover the country to much better advantage than is possible by rail.

If it be objected that automotive transportation depends upon the shrinking gasoline supply, I may retort that railroad transportation depends also on the shrinking coal supply, and I predict that a motor fuel produced from crops that grow on the land, which may be not only renewed but vastly expanded so long as the sun's rays endure, is likely to be in evidence long before the railroads are using electricity generated by waterpower—just another form of dependence on solar energy, by the way!

Will we have aquatic country roads by and by? Surely yes; self-preservation will force the development of our waterways and the creation of a canal system, but all that is far in the future, and can be expected to take care of additional, not present and immediate social transportation needs.

Indeed, my theory that the demands upon our country highways will rapidly and enormously increase is less a theory than an immediate fact. Seven million automotive vehicles run to-day where hardly seven hundred ran in the first year of this century, and these seven million generally "get there," as their earlier predecessors did not.

The country highway problem is one of to-day, rather than to-morrow. It may be left to casual and provisional or partial solution, or it may be fairly faced and managed progressively for the better welfare of the nation. It may, like "Topsy," "just grow," or it may be logically planned.

But this country highway problem is not a problem of the open country alone, by any means. It meets the city at every turning, and the city must pay and does pay its heavy proportion of the cost of better roads and more roads. If some of my dreams come true, the city will pay yet more of the cost of the country highway system.

#### A HIGHWAY SYSTEM

It is of highway *systems* that I have dreamed, and for which I hope. Many good systems have been proposed, and some have been undertaken, but none, I believe, looking quite so far ahead, or serving the whole people quite so well, as the system of my dreams.

I have some acquaintance with park systems. In a well-considered city park system it is expected that no citizen need go more than a half mile to find the saving strip of green upon which other park utilities are embroidered. Thus the park system must be so thought out and placed as to be comfortably accessible to the people of the city, and it should as well look toward similar service to future population.



Just so the country highway system needs to be planned. There will be, I hope, great trans-state and trans-continental highways, north and south as well as east and west, written on the map along trade and contour lines, and worked into fact as rapidly as it can be well done. These highways, I am reminded, if they are thought out in the proper fashion, may be of vast potential benefit in the sad event of a war in which the United States would be attacked. We must not forget that it was the ability of the French to concentrate over a system of roads their men and munitions that made the battle of the Marne less a tragedy, and probably kept the Hun off this land.

But of this matter of country highway location I care to speak little. The sheer economics of the situation will force reasonable adequacy in that direction. The dream I have several times mentioned does not elaborate the desirable defensive possibilities of a great highway system. It does definitely concern itself with that quality of these highways that would make them dependable because they were relatively independent.

When the Bell Telephone Company worked out its transcontinental highway for speech so that the man in Boston may comfortably converse with the man in San Francisco, the great wire lines avoided populous places so far as practicable. I am told that in 3,000 miles of wire, but five city exchanges are stations, though any hamlet, any town, may by arrangement cut in upon that through highway of talk for successful use.

So I would see in the country highways of the future those that passed by but not through communities, which by branches would be served adequately. The main artery of the country's life-blood would run straight and free, and incidents of local congestion, local

regulation, and sometimes of local strangulation, would not occur.

These great transcontinental ways would be supplemented and paralleled by the local highways, sometimes running with them and sometimes departing from them.

While I have pledged myself not to discuss intimate highway construction problems, I may be pardoned for referring to one or two features that fall under the eye of the engineer. These broad through country highways would be built in lines of travel, I hope, so that there should be the least waste of expense and material. With the highway policy there would go reasonable determination of the ultimate width of any vehicle which might use those highways, and of the ultimate weight which might properly be placed on any wheel of one of these vehicles. If, for example, it should be determined that no vehicle would be permitted on the highway ordinarily using more than six feet of its width, then the roads could be figured in eight-foot units, and a road would be 16, or 24, or 32 feet wide, so far as the vehicular space was concerned. Too many times road widths are settled without reference to travel lines, and are upon a decimal basis.

Just as the carrying power of a railroad rests upon the clearance and strength of its lowest and weakest bridge, so will the carrying power of a great cross-country highway relate to the limitations of width and length and weight, as well as of speed to be imposed upon it. It will be built with a safe margin beyond these limitations, but the limitations will be enforced.

I have thought that such great highways would come in time to be supplied through commercial enterprise, but preferably under reasonably strict regulation as to proximity and accommodations, with suitable renewal sta-

tions for supplies and fuel, repairs, and, sometimes at least, food and shelter. The railroad must have its water-tanks and its coal-pockets, and the cross-country highway must do as well for its users.

#### BEAUTIFY THE HIGHWAY

I would have this country highway system thoroughly, plainly and intelligently marked with all the signs and directions necessary, and marked as well by the absence of every sign that is not necessary. I do not conceive that the needs of the highway require any announcement on it of Glenwood Ranges or Coco-Cola, wherefore the billboard in this highway dream of mine would be just a little back of the line of non-visibility from the highway's center!

Poles, wires, electric conveniences I presume would be along these roads, although each year sees the growth of the underground system with its much lower maintenance cost which puts the wires where they belong. When poles and wires were permitted on this ideal road system their place would be designated and their character determined, so that the least danger and the least offense resulted. Under no conditions would they be the chief dominating and determining feature of the highway as they are to-day on thousands of miles of desecrated roads.

Speaking of signs and billboards brings me to the most cherished part of this dream of good roads. I would keep off or conceal the dead tree decorated with wires, but I would have on the roadside the live tree bedecked with leaves. The scheme of planting would be integral with the whole road design, and I should expect that for reasons which hardly need more than mere statement each state and each distinct plant habitat of each state

would reflect along the road not only with the proper trees of that locale, but with the proper plants.

Straying off the state highway during midsummer of this year, I found myself motoring along an easy mountain road which paralleled the Pennsylvania railway. It was a tree-shaded, pleasant way, and some miles of it were made notable by the bloom of the maple-leaved viburnum, evidently particularly characteristic of that neighborhood. This brought to mind a road in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, bordered with rhododendrons and laurels because rhododendrons and laurels belonged there, and it gave me mental glimpses of roads in which the incident had been the wild rose in its blooming loveliness and in the graceful abandon of its long canes when the flowers were off.

There would be, then, roadside planting, not of thickets, not of purchased exotics, not of trees which some one liked because seen in a totally different climate and environment, but of the native things that would suggest themselves by their appropriateness and beauty. The trees would, of course, always be those which take themselves up well from the road surface and leave the primary purpose of the road to accommodate traffic stand paramount.

Roads are being planted for memorial purposes in this nation. Not long since I had great gratification in meeting with the Woman's Club of York, Pennsylvania, which live organization was doing its memorial work through organized planting of many miles of the Lincoln Highway in the native trees that would so well become it. In the state of New York certain memorial roads have been planted, and right now a movement is on foot spreading from Auburn toward promoting what is called the "rosification" of the roads in its allusion to the setting out of



hardy suitable roses to take the place of briars, docks and the other weeds which the ordinary handling of road-sides by the ordinary type of road supervisor actually encourages.

These planted roads would be beautiful in themselves. They would be more enduring. They would be cooler in summer and would have winter advantage as well. If the road design was wise they would constantly lead to points of beauty, sometimes actually turning aside for a brief space to give a prospect of view that was noble or attractive. The ramifications of the minor roads that would feed these great transcontinental roads would under the same wise plan develop, as it has never yet been developed, the varying loveliness of the land we live in, and this to vast financial advantage and to the enlargement of the souls of the makers and the users of the roads.

#### THE PEDESTRIAN

I have left to the last a cherished section of this roadway vision. Many of us in the old days, when the horse was yet the dominant transportation agency, noted the footways which came into existence along the country roads. It was actually possible to walk from one town to another—sometimes, to be sure, turning aside for a moment on the passing of a vehicle. The advent of the automobile has established, it

seems, a penalty on legs, if not, indeed, almost a prohibition of their use on well-made roads. He who now walks on a modern country highway does it very much at his own peril and still more at his own inconvenience and discomfort.

I would remove this handicap on pedestrianism by having the highway designed to include a footwalk, not at all necessarily at the grade of the roadway, not at all necessarily elaborate or wide, but a definite, dry and durable footwalk. It would wind in and out among the planting and the trees, and it would recognize the rights of citizens and taxpayers who do not find themselves able or willing to travel on the wings of an explosion motor rather than on the feet which God gave them. The footwalk, then, would become an integral and essential feature of the road system of which I have dreamed.

That others have had somewhat of a dream in this direction was in evidence some years ago when I intercepted and secured the gubernatorial veto of a bill in the Pennsylvania legislature which provided that the minimum width for any footwalk along the country highway should be 12 feet, increasing one foot for each foot of width of the roadway beyond 24 feet, and to be built of concrete in every case. This was evidently a lovely scheme to dispose of cement at a time when it was not so precious and in demand as at present!

# THE EXECUTIVE IN THE MODEL STATE CONSTITUTION

BY JOHN A. FAIRLIE

*University of Illinois*

*An explanation of the provisions of our model state constitution relating to the executive department. Later articles will discuss other sections of the committee's report adopted at Indianapolis. :: ::*

IN American state governments, the executive has come to be organized in a fashion which almost defies analysis, and offers a striking contrast to the executive organization in the national government and in that of all other countries, and also to that in many American cities.

In most European and other foreign countries, there is a single titular executive, with extensive formal powers. But in the operation of the government the executive powers are exercised by a cabinet of administrative officials, acting collectively, but generally with a prime minister who has a large and often a dominating influence. In Switzerland, the executive council is vested with the executive powers, and the president of the confederation is merely the chairman of the council.

The United States constitution vests the executive power in the President, with a large field of personal authority and control, limited, however, by the power of the senate over appointments and treaties; and there has also developed an extra-legal advisory cabinet composed of the heads of the principal executive departments. The internal organization of these departments and the recent development of many boards and commissions outside of the executive departments weakens the President's effective control; but the constitutional principle of concentrated responsibility is clearly established.

American municipal government for many years exhibited the same characteristics of executive disorganization which still characterize the state executive; and these still persist to a considerable degree in many cities. But to a large extent municipal administration is now more effectively organized, either under the mayor or a city manager, or under a small commission of from three to seven members.

But the state executive remains in the main a loose aggregation of unrelated offices, under no effective direction or control. The arrangements in force represent no consistent or coherent system; but are the haphazard results of more than a century of unconscious adaptation, resulting from a variety of conflicting ideals and principles, which have never been correlated. They have sometimes been referred to as a system of distributed executive powers; but no serious student of political organization has ever found any definite plan in the methods in force, or has undertaken to uphold any such plan of distribution. It represents neither the single executive, nor the collective executive, nor any intermediate type.

The factors which explain the present situation may be briefly summarized: In the first place, opposition to the appointed colonial governors led to distrust of concentrated executive power; and the early state constitutions



weakened the executive and placed it largely under the control of the legislature. But the defects of legislative control and the increasing tide of democracy led to the direct popular election of most of the older executive offices. Since about 1850, there has been a steady development of the governor's power, with the development of state administration; but the older offices remain elective; while in most states the multitude and variety of appointive officials and boards and the lack of any systematic organization prevents the governor from establishing an effective control even over the appointive officials.

In a few states, beginning with Illinois in 1917, there has recently been established a more systematic organization of state administration, covering the appointive positions under the governor. But these changes have been made by statute; and have not been able to include the elective state officials provided for in the state constitution. Any thorough reorganization of the state executive, therefore, requires important changes in the constitutional provisions relating to that branch of the government.

#### THE GOVERNOR AND THE LEGISLATURE

The provisions of the "Model State Constitution" relating to the executive are based on the principle of concentrated executive power, as in the Constitution of the United States. The executive power of the state is vested in a governor, to be elected by popular vote and to hold office for a term of four years. He is to appoint and may remove the heads of all executive departments, and all other officers and employes in the executive service are to be appointed by the governor or by the heads of executive departments as may be provided by law.

It has been proposed by some that the separation of executive and legislative powers should be entirely abandoned; and that the governor should be elected by and directly responsible to the legislature. This would be in accordance with the cabinet system of European countries, and with the method of choosing the executive council in Switzerland, and also with the city-manager plan of municipal government. But, while there may be much to be said in favor of such a plan, it has seemed to the committee of the National Municipal League that for some time to come such a reversal of established American methods will not be approved. The governor has become much more than a ministerial officer to execute laws and policies. He is expected to develop and carry out plans of administrative policy, and to take the lead in proposing legislative measures. His election by the state at large gives him a broader outlook than many of the members of the legislature, who may be guided too much by the local views of their districts. In fact election returns indicate that there is a larger popular interest in the election of governor than in the election of members of the legislature. It, therefore, seems best to retain the direct election of the governor, as a feature of popular control of the government which is now effective.

At the same time, it is important to recognize that the governor and the legislature must work together if the state government is to operate harmoniously and successfully. The two should not be considered as occupying water-tight compartments with no direct connection except by formal documents. It is therefore proposed that: "The governor and heads of departments shall be entitled to seats in the legislature, may introduce bills therein and take part in the

discussion of measures, but shall have no vote."

Such practices have frequently been urged for the President and members of his cabinet in congress, among others by President Taft. A constitutional provision would mark the recognition and endorsement of existing practices, such as that of addresses to congress and the state legislatures by the President and governors, and the active and necessary part taken by department heads, and sometimes by other officials in the formulation and advocacy of legislative measures. By the more open and public methods of communication, co-operation and harmony between the legislature and the executive should be made more easy.

It is more specifically provided that the governor shall submit at each regular session of the legislature a budget of proposed expenditures and anticipated revenues; and shall also introduce a general appropriation bill providing for all the proposed expenditures as set forth in the budget. Other features of the budget provisions will be discussed later in further articles on the model state constitution.

The veto power of the governor is retained, as in most of the existing state constitutions, subject to a two-thirds vote of the legislature; and the governor may also disapprove or reduce items in appropriations, subject also to the same two-thirds vote of the legislature.

A novel provision, to avoid deadlocks between the governor and the legislature, is that authorizing a referendum of the people on measures vetoed by the governor, and (by order of the governor) on bills which fail of passage if at least one third of the members vote in their favor. It is suggested that this procedure for securing a direct popular vote on such matters at issue may prove more satisfactory

than the alternatives under the European cabinet system of the resignation of the cabinet or the dissolution of the legislature and a new general election.

#### LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ABOLISHED

The four years term for the governor corresponds to that of the President of the United States and to that of the governor in nearly half of the states. It is believed that such a period is needed to give a governor opportunity to develop and carry out his policies; while the biennial election of the legislature will make possible an effective public expression of disapproval of particular measures without leading to a general overturn of the administration.

Provisions have not been included in the sections drafted as to the qualifications for the governor, nor as to the usual powers of the governor to exercise executive power, to see that the laws are enforced, to act as commander in chief of the state military and naval forces, to require information from executive officers, and to exercise the power of pardon.

Such provisions are substantially similar in the state constitutions, and the variations of detail are of little importance. No changes of principle have been proposed with reference to these matters; and the usual provisions may be continued. The authority of the governor to supervise and direct other executive officers may, however, be made more definite. Nor have provisions as to impeachment and other methods of removal been as yet prepared by the committee. These may be included in later reports of its work.

In other matters, however, omissions of provisions commonly found in state constitutions have been for the definite purpose of carrying out the general principles of executive organization which are recommended. Thus, no



provision is made for the election of a lieutenant-governor; but in case of vacancy or disability of the governor the presiding officer of the legislature will act as governor for the remainder of the term. The election of an officer whose principal purpose is to fill a vacancy is an anomalous procedure, which has not been markedly successful, and the states which now have no lieutenant-governor do not seem to have suffered any serious results. Lieutenant-governors and vice-presidents of the United States have in many cases represented a different element or policy from the governor, and more continuity may be expected from an officer representing the majority in the legislature.

#### GOVERNOR TO APPOINT ALL DEPARTMENT HEADS

The appointment of all executive officers is proposed as an application of the short ballot principle, as well as the principle of concentrated executive authority. The election of a number of executive officers in addition to the governor fails to secure the results expected of increasing popular control; but on the contrary is to-day one of the most serious obstacles to popular control of the government. The long list of elective officers and the longer list of candidates impose an impossible task on the voter, beyond the capacity of the most intelligent who do not make a business of politics. The mechanical task of voting has been reduced by the party column and other devices on the ballot; but the results indicate clearly that the great mass of voters do not care to discriminate between candidates for the less important offices and vote on the basis of a party ticket. In effect the voters are disfranchised because they are required to vote too much. A responsible system of ap-

pointment should make more effective public opinion as registered in the election of the governor.

Moreover the duties of the subordinate officers now elective are not political, but executive or administrative in character; and call for qualifications of technical ability and experience which cannot well be determined by popular election. At least some of the officials now elected are less important than some of the positions now filled by appointment; and there is no logical basis of distinction between the appointive and elective places.

Where the elective state officers are chosen at the same time on the same party ticket, some degree of harmony may be expected, on the basis of political principles or of party organization. But active co-operation between such officials is seldom found. They are apt to represent different, and sometimes antagonistic elements in the party; and even where there is no open hostility each elective officer is likely to feel and assert at times his independence of the governor. In some states elective state officers are ex-officio members of certain state boards; but these have to do with limited and specific functions, and fall far short of constituting an executive council of general authority.

While no general principles have been stated on which to distinguish the officials now elective as a group from those appointed, for some positions there have been special opposition to transferring them from the elective to the appointive class. The election or appointment of the attorney-general was discussed at the constitutional conventions in New York state in 1867 and 1915. It was argued that the functions of this officer were to some degree political in nature. But it would seem that his duties to aid in the enforcement of the laws and to

give legal advice to other state officers are essentially part of the executive power, and that these duties should be exercised by one in agreement with the chief executive who is constitutionally responsible for the execution of the laws. An attorney-general hostile to the governor could in large measure weaken his authority even over the officials he appoints. Indeed this situation has been recognized in New York, when by chance an attorney-general has been elected of another political party from the governor, the latter was authorized to employ special counsel. President Taft spoke before the committee of the New York convention in favor of the appointment of the attorney-general as follows:

Well, if you are going to have a lot of independent officers, who are running their own boats, paddling their own canoes, without respect to the head of the state, then of course you want a judicial officer to decide between them. But if you are running a government on the basis of a head man being responsible for what is done, and for the work being done in the most effective way, then what you want is a counsel. When you consult a lawyer, you don't consult a judge. You consult a man who is with you, seeking to help you carry out the lawful purposes that you have. Therefore he ought to be your appointee. You select him. Now the chief executive is given an attorney-general to advise and represent him in all legal matters. I don't see why he shouldn't be appointed. It would be most awkward if he was not, in Washington, I can tell you that.<sup>1</sup>

#### AUDITOR CHOSEN BY THE LEGISLATURE

The opinion is even more widely held that the state auditor or comptroller should be independent of the governor, on the ground that the duties of this officer are to act as a check on the expenditure of executive officials and keep them within the limits of the

appropriations. This view also prevails in a few states where the auditor or comptroller is not elected, but is chosen by the legislature. On the other hand, in the United States national government the comptroller of the treasury and the auditors are appointed by the President, and are classed within the department of the treasury; and a similar arrangement is provided in a number of large cities, as in Chicago and Detroit.

If the auditor is to be independent of the governor, the practice in most of the states of electing this official at the same time as the governor is unsatisfactory. An auditor so elected is likely to be of the same party as the governor, and thus not to act as a wholly independent officer. Greater independence would be secured if the auditor were chosen by the legislature, or, if elected by popular vote, he should be elected at a different time than the governor.

But the practice of a supposedly independent officer who controls disbursements has been due to a confusion between the functions of accounting and auditing in American governments. The auditor or comptroller now acts to some extent both as accountant and auditor; but in fact there has been neither an adequate system of accounting, nor any effective independent audit of the accounts kept. In European governments, and in business corporations in the United States, the accounting service and the control over disbursements is a branch of the executive administration; while there is a subsequent audit of accounts at regular intervals by an outside agency. Thus in Great Britain the accounts are kept and current control of disbursements is exercised by the treasury; and the work of the comptroller and auditor-general is to make a critical examination of the completed financial

<sup>1</sup> New York constitutional convention documents No. 11 (1915).



accounts, methods and reports at the end of each fiscal year.

In some American states and cities, the need for a central executive control over expenditures and accounts has been recognized, to some extent, by such officers as the administrative auditor in Illinois or the commissioners of accounts in New York city, as agents of the governor or mayor, in addition to the popularly elected auditor or comptroller. But this plan, if adequately carried out, involves a duplicate system of accounts kept both by the executive department and also by the auditor.

The same confusion of thought is shown in the recent proposal to make the United States comptroller of the treasury legally independent of the executive. This would make it necessary to establish a duplicate accounting system in the treasury department, unless the functions of the comptroller are strictly limited to that of auditing the accounts and reports.

It is the opinion of the National Municipal League Committee on State Government that there should be a central accounting service, with control over disbursements, in the executive branch of the state government, as one division of a department of finance. It should, however, be clearly made the duty of the legislature to provide for a regular independent audit of the financial accounts and reports after each fiscal period, in place of the spasmodic investigations which occasionally take place, based largely on political considerations.

#### THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

No constitutional provisions have been proposed for a definite and detailed plan of executive departments. In this respect the constitution of the United States has been followed. This

does not mean that the need for a thorough reorganization of the administrative arrangements in the states is not recognized. It is based on the belief that the details of administrative organization should not be stereotyped in the state constitution, but should remain flexible, to be adjusted from time to time by legislation, to meet the needs of a developing political system.

The provisions in the present state constitutions for executive and administrative officers, which for the most part are survivals from the constitutions of the middle of the nineteenth century, have clearly proven inadequate for present conditions. Indeed they now form serious obstacles to the establishment of an effective administrative system. Proposed constitutional provisions for a more systematic arrangement, such as those presented in New York state, have been compromises, making only partial steps towards a satisfactory system; and there is danger that such partial reforms, imbedded in the state constitution, will prove even more stubborn obstacles to further changes. Even the shorter provisions recently adopted in Massachusetts, providing for not more than twenty departments, give sanction to more than should be needed; and the legislation adopted under this provision falls far short of an effective organization.

It may be noted that most of the services of the United States national government, which greatly exceed those of any state, are organized in ten executive departments. And the still greater field of central administration in France is organized under a dozen ministries. There seems to be no need for any more in any American state; though it may be difficult to secure a reduction to this point in the near future.

The most comprehensive and suc-

cessful plans of state administrative reorganization thus far adopted, such as those in Illinois, Nebraska and Idaho, have been accomplished by statutory legislation; and these might have gone further had it not been for the existing constitutional provisions. The policy followed has, therefore, been to omit from the proposed constitution all provisions relating to executive and administrative officers other than the governor.

The League's committee has also approved a constitutional provision for the merit system in the administrative service, substantially similar to the provisions in the New York and Ohio constitutions, requiring competitive examinations so far as practicable for appointments. More definite provisions as to the organization of the civil service authority and the application of the constitutional principle should be made by legislation.

## THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM AND THE ELECTIONS OF 1920

BY H. W. DODDS

NOVEMBER 2, 1920, was the occasion for submission to the people of the usual crop of constitutional amendments, referred and initiated measures. We publish herewith the votes on the various state proposals in the form of a table. The ratio of the vote on the measures to the total vote cast for all presidential electors is also given.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS ACTED UPON

The voters of thirty two states passed upon amendments to their state constitutions at the election last November. The proposals covered a wide variety of subjects. Eight states voted on amendments increasing the salaries of various public officers. The crest of good times had passed and the electorate had evidently begun a "buyer's strike," with respect to the services of public officials, for all salary increases were defeated. Amendments authorizing loans to pay a bonus to veterans of the late war carried in three states. Income tax provisions carried in North Carolina but failed in three other states. Special taxes or bond issues for improved roads were popular and carried

in all six states which voted on them. West Virginia adopted divided sessions of the legislature while Oregon rejected a similar proposal. Absent voting authorizations carried in two states, but a compulsory voting provision failed in Oregon. Single tax amendments failed in two states, and a tax classification proposition failed in Kansas. An effort to increase the number necessary to initiate tax proposals, directed against the recurring single tax measures, failed in California. Iowa approved the calling of a constitutional convention; California defeated a similar proposal. Missouri paved the way for a convention by altering the method of electing delegates to a convention. An excess condemnation amendment failed in Michigan. New York adopted the requirement that state bonds hereafter be issued in serial form. Arkansas revised the initiative and referendum provisions of her constitution and extended them to counties and cities. The number necessary in that state to call out a measure passed by the legislature was increased from 5 to 6 per cent, and the number necessary to initiate a constitutional amendment from 8 to 10 per cent.



## VOTES ON AMENDMENTS

As shown in the accompanying table the votes on the various amendments ranged from 17 per cent of the combined presidential vote in South Carolina to 92 per cent on the parochial school amendment in Michigan, and 98 per cent on a proposed trunk highway system in Minnesota. The total votes on the three proposed amendments in North Dakota were all above 90 per cent of the combined presidential votes. Partisan feeling in North Dakota, as everyone knows, was especially high at this election. With very few exceptions the votes in other states did not run as high as 80 per cent or fall as low as 40 per cent of the total vote for all presidential electors. The mean vote on all measures for all states would be about 55 per cent, which seems to be about the average for the United States in former years.

Considering the votes individually by states, the percentage of votes cast on the several amendments within each state varied but little. A spread of more than five points between the percentages of the amendments receiving the lowest and highest votes in any one state is unusual, and can generally be traced to unusual interest aroused by a certain proposal, either because of its extreme popularity or because it was more than ordinarily controversial. For the most part amendments of minor importance, received as much attention as those of higher importance within the same state. It would be impossible to distinguish between measures constitutional in nature and those merely statutory by the size of the votes on them. A proposal prohibiting compulsory vaccination in California received almost one-third more votes than the proposition to call a constitutional convention. The difficulty of amending a constitution under condi-

tions which require more than a simple majority of those voting on the amendment is again demonstrated. In all such cases, except three amendments in Wyoming, the proposals failed.

In six states amendments were initiated directly by the people. Such proposals, however, can hardly be said to have been distinguished by higher votes than their associates of more modest origin.

## THE VOTES ON INITIATED MEASURES

Popularly initiated bills were voted upon in only eight states. One of these was Massachusetts, where an act permitting the manufacture of light beer and wines with  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent alcoholic content was initiated indirectly, passed both houses of the legislature, but was vetoed by the governor. On submission to the people it was approved by a close majority. Five states possessing the direct initiative did not use it at the last election. The indirect initiative was used in Massachusetts for the first time. In the other six states which employed it, however, with the exception of North Dakota, it has been of long standing (Arizona since 1911, California 1911, Colorado 1910, Montana 1906, Oklahoma 1907 and Oregon 1902). With the addition of Missouri these states comprise the group which make most common use of it. The other states which use it but rarely did not use it at all last November.

The situation in North Dakota has attracted a great deal of attention. The direct initiative was adopted in that state in 1918. Formerly, they had had only the indirect initiative. At the last election five initiated measures aimed directly at the Non-Partisan League went on the ballot. All carried by close margins. The total vote on each of them, moreover, exceeded the total vote for presidential electors, the

former being about 110 per cent of the latter.

Other measures which received unusual attention from the voters were the alien land law in California, the law permitting the manufacture of light wines in Massachusetts and a bond issue for education in Montana. In fact, it will be seen by reference to the accompanying table that the three measures initiated in these states received an unusually high number of votes. In each case the subject of the law presented a clear issue on which popular opinion could be readily formed, and was therefore a fit matter for direct legislation.

#### THE VOTES ON REFERRED MEASURES

Eleven states voted on measures called out by popular petition. In contrast to the high vote in North Dakota on the initiated bills was the lower vote on a measure governing county seat removals. Prohibition enforcement acts were defeated in California and South Dakota and affirmed in Missouri and Ohio. The first three carried out the intent of the Volstead Act, but the last was designed to liberalize the prohibition law. The votes in these states were respectively 92, 90, 67 and 90 per cent of the total at the election. Other measures which attracted more than usual attention were the proposal to legalize boxing and the presidential primary repealer in Montana. Proposals to combine the direct primary and convention systems for nominating candidates were defeated in Montana and South Dakota. In each case the vote was high, being 77 and 78 per cent on the two Montana bills and 81 per cent on the South Dakota measure. However, a direct primary repealer failed to attract the notice of the Nebraska voters for, although overwhelmingly defeated, only 38 per cent of the voters acted on it.

In this case it was the only measure on the ballot, there being no initiated bills or constitutional amendments before the people. A workman's compensation measure, defeated in Missouri, elicited little attention from the people. The votes on it were but 54 per cent of the total. In seven states there was but one referred measure on the ballot; in three states there were two measures; in one there were four measures, and in one state (California) there were five. As in the case of initiated bills those states which ordered a referendum on the most measures were the ones which have in years past utilized the privilege most frequently (*i.e.*, Arizona, California, Missouri, Montana and South Dakota). Oklahoma and Oregon, states frequently employing the referendum in years past, voted on but one referred measure each. However, the number of times the referendum has been used in Oregon is only a fraction of the times the initiative has been invoked, which would indicate that legislative inertia was more unpopular in that state than the legislative product.

The subject matter of the referred bills was such as to enable the people to form an intelligent opinion without undue labor and, with but two or three exceptions, the size of the vote on them justified the claims made by the advocates of this form of direct legislation.

#### THE TABLE

In explanation of the table that follows, it may be said that the affirmative and negative votes on the measures were furnished by the secretaries of state of the several states. The votes for presidential electors were furnished by the *New York Times*. It is possible that the figures here given will be modified slightly in the official and final announcements of the returns in all the states.



## VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, NOVEMBER 2, 1920

State and Subject	Yes	No	Combined vote for presidential candidates	Percentage of presidential vote cast on amendments
ALABAMA				
Legalizing loans or appropriations for harbor improvements.....	77,480	89,071	241,070	69
County ownership of public utilities.....	70,198	91,698		67
Special road tax.....	58,109	99,076		65
ARIZONA				
Election of legislators to other civil office...	8,945	26,520	66,562	53
Election of state tax commission.....	9,592	25,234		52
Increased salaries for teachers and other public officers (initiated directly).....	13,701	28,053		62
ARKANSAS				
Amending initiative and referendum provisions (initiated directly).....	86,360	43,662	183,637	70
Qualifications of electors*	87,237	49,751		74
Reorganization of supreme court*	65,083	63,211		69
CALIFORNIA				
Calling a constitutional convention.....	203,240	428,002	943,463	67
Authorizing an alien poll tax.....	667,924	147,212		87
Authorizing absent voting.....	356,539	371,784		74
Exempting orphanages from taxation.....	394,014	371,658	72	81
Permitting state aid to certain institutions.....	487,023	222,247		72
Increasing salaries of justices (initiated directly).....	232,418	538,655		81
Increasing size of petition necessary to initiate tax measures (initiated directly).....	298,347	421,945	73	73
Prohibiting compulsory vaccination (initiated directly).....	359,987	468,911		87
Highway bond issue (initiated directly).....	435,492	311,667		79
Levying tax for state university (initiated directly).....	380,027	384,667	81	81
Broadening state school system (initiated directly).....	506,008	268,781		82
Exempting real estate improvements from taxation; the single tax (initiated directly).....	196,694	563,503		80
COLORADO				
Construction of R.R. tunnels through continental divide (initiated directly).....	101,841	126,099	352,237	64
Additional tax for education (initiated directly).....	160,268	52,324		60
Bond issue for roads.....	100,130	70,997		43
Additional county judges for Denver.....	35,095	97,398	46	37
Increased salaries for state officers.....	49,313	112,878		46
FLORIDA				
Restricting purposes of state bond issues....	34,504	54,510	149,397	59
IDAHO				
Increased membership of supreme court....	35,265	30,989	136,592	79
Appeals from public utilities commission....	33,570	26,020		43
Increased sale of school lands.....	30,790	31,859		49
State development of unused water-power..	32,322	27,812		44
IOWA				
Calling constitutional convention (submitted automatically every ten years).....	279,652	221,763	895,076	56
KANSAS				
Revolving fund to aid farm building.....	223,499	201,559	570,152	74
State aid for roads.....	284,689	193,347		83
Classification of property for tax purposes..	170,710	218,931		68
LOUISIANA				
Special tax for education.....	57,686	24,009	117,084	69
School tax in Orleans parish.....	49,781	24,492		63
Commissioners of Port of Orleans.....	43,099	23,920		57
Special tax in New Orleans for fire and police	47,654	22,824	60	60
Additional powers for commissioners of Port of Orleans.....	42,771	23,609		56
Pensions for Confederate veterans.....	54,863	21,215		65
Registration for primaries.....	40,909	24,225	55	55
Certain industries exempted from taxation..	10,056	56,975		57

\* Amendments proposed by legislature must receive affirmative vote of all voting at election.

## VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, NOVEMBER 2, 1920)---(Continued)

State and Subject	Yes	No	Combined vote for presidential candidates	Percentage of presidential vote cast on amendments
<b>MAINE</b>				
Authorizing legislature to prescribe election districts and manner of voting.....	76,129	29,333	197,845	53
Bond issue for war bonus.....	105,712	32,820		70
Authorizing income tax.....	53,475	64,787		60
<b>MARYLAND</b>				
Increasing salaries of members of legislature	76,367	116,762	438,451	44
Increasing salaries of clerks of courts.....	58,081	127,638		42
<b>MICHIGAN</b>				
Increased salary for state officers.....	348,311	463,959		77
Absent voters' privileges.....	415,780	359,749		74
Authorizing legislature to fix hours and conditions of labor for women and children ..	420,085	413,362	1,047,819	79
Excess condemnation.....	360,668	439,373		76
Compelling children to attend public schools	353,817	610,699		92
<b>MINNESOTA</b>				
A trunk highway system.....	526,936	199,603	735,838	98
Extension of term of office of probate judge..	446,959	171,414		84
Graduated income tax*.....	331,105	217,558		74
Railroad real estate subject to special assessments.....	488,497	98,045		79
<b>MISSISSIPPI†</b>				
Prescribing jurisdiction of supervisors over roads, etc.....	20,184	45,938	82,492	80
Election of levee commissioners.....	33,236	26,744		72
Equal suffrage.....	39,186	24,296		76
Uniform poll tax.....	41,693	22,733		78
Pensions for Confederate veterans.....	42,442	19,542		75
<b>MISSOURI</b>				
Increasing pay of legislators.....	320,406	406,672	1,332,800	54
Home rule for cities over 100,000.....	385,656	311,922		52
Increasing debt limits for large cities.....	368,651	329,938		52
Authorizing special levy for road purposes....	375,942	340,665		53
Authorizing increased tax rate for schools....	312,323	398,279		53
Bond issue for hard roads.....	572,514	339,021		68
Authorizing cities to incur indebtedness for waterworks, etc.....	381,794	310,210		52
Requiring tax levy to pension blind.....	455,227	295,788		56
Bond issue for soldiers' settlement fund.....	379,156	348,749		54
Reorganizing supreme court.....	315,837	369,077		51
Absent voting.....	440,102	279,490		54
Reorganizing St. Louis court.....	316,661	355,401		50
Altering mode of revising or amending constitution.....	394,437	317,815		53
<b>MONTANA</b>				
Establishing county boards of equalization under state tax commission.....	58,571	72,161		73
Apportioning interest on school funds.....	77,093	54,184	179,006	73
Creating board of examiners and control....	51,072	72,870		69
<b>NEVADA</b>				
Jurisdiction of supreme court.....	12,060	3,235	27,093	56
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE‡</b>				
Authorizing income tax.....	46,430	30,364	159,092	48
Authorizing inheritance tax.....	45,415	24,222		43
Empowering governor to veto items in appropriation bills.....	45,634	26,195		45
Fixing membership of House of Representatives.....	48,598	28,121		48
Conscientious objectors to bearing arms....	35,932	31,509		42
Public worship.....	35,172	42,322		48
Legalizing pensions for longer than one year.	44,456	31,955		48
<b>NEW YORK</b>				
Serial bonds for state debt issues.....	1,117,546	630,265	2,882,590	66
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>				
Legalizing state income, poll and general property taxes.....	262,873	81,109		62
Qualifications for voting.....	235,608	83,366	548,741	58

\*Lost, necessary to ratify 398,978.

†Necessary to carry an amendment proposed by legislature 41,559, or majority voting at election.

‡Two-thirds vote necessary to adopt amendment. All seven failed.



## VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, NOVEMBER 2, 1920—(Concluded)

State and Subject	Yes	No	Combined vote for presidential candidates	Percentage of presidential vote cast on amendments
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>				
Woman suffrage.....	135,370	60,772	200,778	97
New name for state reform school.....	129,628	63,569		96
Investment of school funds.....	124,331	56,526		90
<b>OKLAHOMA*</b>				
Property tax for public schools (initiated directly).....	162,749	179,271	486,405	72
Non-profit insurance organizations.....	157,064	159,919		67
Increased pay for members of legislature....	125,463	173,274		63
<b>OREGON</b>				
Fixing length of legislative session, regulating procedure, etc.....	80,342	85,524	238,572	69
To exempt property except land from taxation; the single tax (initiated directly)....	37,283	147,426		73
Lengthening term of county officers (initiated directly).....	97,854	80,983		74
Fixing legal rate of interest (initiated directly)	28,976	158,673		78
Establishing divided legislative session (initiated directly).....	57,791	101,179		66
Establishing compulsory voting.....	61,258	131,603		80
Prohibiting compulsory vaccination (initiated directly).....	63,018	127,570		79
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>				
Requiring notice before banks can incorporate.....	431,122	142,262	1,851,248	30
Debt limits for counties and cities.....	373,643	144,512		28
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA†</b>				
Municipal ice plants.....	8,366	2,925	66,150	17
Municipal ice plants.....	8,410	2,941		17
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>				
Permitting legislature to fix salaries of state officers.....	70,831	77,987	181,747	81
Creating board of control.....	60,763	77,285		75
Increasing debt limits of counties and cities....	66,734	72,226		76
Establishing credit system for home building	80,062	61,674		78
Bond issue for war bonus.....	93,459	56,366		82
<b>UTAH</b>				
Creation of municipal corporations by special laws prohibited.....	22,757	27,656	145,828	34
Limit on property tax for state purposes.....	43,552	31,165		51
Contraction of state debt limited.....	15,142	33,417		33
Right of action to recover damages for death shall not be limited.....	26,288	24,825		35
<b>VIRGINIA</b>				
Other than qualified voters eligible to municipal employment.....	105,690	40,623	231,029	63
Removal of restrictions on municipal charters	103,356	40,561		62
Description of school districts, officers thereof	112,429	43,121		67
Additional school tax.....	111,540	44,581		67
Compulsory education of children.....	116,699	41,056		68
State debts.....	111,309	48,948		69
<b>WASHINGTON</b>				
Authorizing private property to be taken for drains, flumes, etc.....	121,022	113,287	394,195	59
Increased salary for governor and other officers.....	71,284	170,242		61
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>				
Bond issue for good roads.....	248,689	130,569	509,942	73
Divided session of legislature.....	160,929	122,744		55
<b>WYOMING‡</b>				
Municipal debt limits.....	36,721	12,178	56,197	87
Municipal tax limits.....	18,893	21,661		72
State debt limits.....	28,504	15,393		78
County debt limits.....	28,393	14,727		76
Referendum on loans.....	24,464	16,698		73
Special tax for live stock protection.....	21,523	18,701		73

\* All failed; majority of those voting at election necessary to carry amendment.

† Thirty other amendments of local or minor nature were acted upon.

‡ Amendment must receive affirmative vote of all voting at election.

## VOTES ON BILLS INITIATED BY POPULAR PETITION, NOVEMBER 2, 1920

State and Subject	Yes	No	Combined vote for presidential candidates	Percentage of presidential vote cast on measure
<b>ARIZONA</b>				
Protection of game and fish. . . . .	13,096	26,617	66,562	59
Creating state civil service commission. . . . .	11,850	26,299		57
Providing procedure for creation of counties. . . . .	5,312	38,198		65
Creating state highway department. . . . .	16,961	25,721		63
Reclamation and irrigation proposal. . . . .	18,203	22,432		61
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>				
Alien land law. . . . .	668,483	222,086		94
Regulating chiropractic. . . . .	390,240	402,410	943,463	84
Prohibiting vivisection. . . . .	272,288	527,130		85
<b>COLORADO</b>				
Fixing hours of work for municipal fire departments. . . . .	113,140	82,596	352,237	55
Regulating chiropractic. . . . .	84,286	109,385		55
Creating the county of Limon. . . . .	34,881	141,239		50
Creating the county of Flagler. . . . .	33,295	140,363		50
Appropriation for state hospital. . . . .	155,049	50,295		58
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>				
Regulating the manufacture of beer and wines (indirectly initiated). . . . .	442,215	432,951	994,694	88
<b>MONTANA</b>				
Levying tax for state university. . . . .	82,669	71,169		85
Authorizing bond issue for education. . . . .	90,441	66,237	179,006	87
Bond issue for irrigation. . . . .	55,276	89,828		81
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>				
Examination of bank of North Dakota, etc.. . . . .	118,269	102,238	200,778	110
Permitting deposit of local government funds in local banks. . . . .	114,022	106,853		110
Prohibiting bank of North Dakota from lending on real estate to any but actual farmers. . . . .	116,508	105,348		110
Permitting publication of private legal notices in other papers than the official paper in the county. . . . .	114,320	105,961		109
Restoring to superintendent of public instruction certain powers. . . . .	114,571	104,722		109
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>				
Levying tax on public service corporations. . . . .	162,749	179,271	486,405	70
<b>OREGON</b>				
Consolidating properties of port and dock commissions. . . . .	80,493	84,830		70
Creating bird refuge for native waterfowl. . . . .	78,961	107,383	238,572	78
Creating a state market commission. . . . .	51,605	119,464		72



## VOTES ON MEASURES REFERRED TO THE PEOPLE, NOVEMBER 2, 1920

State and Subject	Yes	No	Combined vote for presidential candidates	Percentage of presidential vote cast on measure
<b>ARIZONA</b>				
To regulate pardons and paroles (referendum ordered by legislature) . . . . .	11,571	25,794	60,562	56
Providing for preliminary examination in a court of record where prosecution is by information . . . . .	12,268	23,622		54
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>				
Prohibition enforcement act . . . . .	400,475	465,537	943,403	92
Regulating sale of poisons . . . . .	479,764	270,562		79
Community property, equal rights to either spouse . . . . .	246,875	524,133		81
Prohibiting state banks as agents of insurance companies . . . . .	308,062	328,115		67
Organizing irrigation districts . . . . .	314,522	280,948		63
<b>IDAHO</b>				
Bond issue for state highways (referendum ordered by constitution) . . . . .	40,720	30,901	136,592	52
<b>MAINE</b>				
Woman suffrage . . . . .	88,080	30,462	197,845	60
<b>MISSOURI</b>				
Prohibition enforcement . . . . .	481,880	420,581	1,332,800	67
Workman's compensation . . . . .	344,724	376,651		54
<b>MONTANA</b>				
Providing for nomination of certain candidates by state convention; others by direct primaries (referendum ordered by legislature) . . . . .	60,483	77,549	179,006	77
Legalizing boxing (referendum ordered by legislature) . . . . .	74,549	82,827		88
The direct primary for all offices and delegates to national conventions . . . . .	66,131	74,079		78
Repeal of presidential primary . . . . .	60,793	80,023		80
Bond issue for roads (referendum ordered by constitution) . . . . .	68,785	76,949		81
<b>NEBRASKA</b>				
Abolishing direct primary for nominations to certain offices . . . . .	49,410	133,115	475,153	38
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>				
Bond issue for soldiers' bonus . . . . .	534,532	165,555	904,000	77
Bond issue for vehicular tunnels (referenda on above ordered by constitution) . . . . .	569,300	94,707		77
<b>NEW YORK</b>				
Bond issue on soldier's bonus (referendum ordered by constitution) . . . . .	1,454,940	673,292	2,882,590	72
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>				
County seat removal . . . . .	92,213	85,637	200,778	88
<b>OHIO</b>				
Prohibition enforcement act . . . . .	1,050,045	773,226	2,019,166	90
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>				
Regulating the practice of medicine . . . . .	211,252	164,788	486,405	77
<b>OREGON</b>				
Regulating sale of oleomargarine . . . . .	67,101	119,126	238,572	78
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>				
Intoxicating liquors . . . . .	75,870	87,986	181,747	90
Combination of party primary and party convention systems (referendum ordered by legislature) . . . . .	65,107	82,012		81
<b>WASHINGTON</b>				
Construction of state highway system (referendum ordered by constitution) . . . . .	117,425	191,783	394,195	78
Bond issue for war bonus (referendum ordered by constitution) . . . . .	224,356	88,128		78

# CITY MANAGER MOVEMENT

## PROGRESS OF MANAGER PLAN IN ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY-FIVE CITIES

BY HARRISON GRAY OTIS

*Concluding installment of short stories begun in the May, 1920, issue of the REVIEW. The number of cities operating under, or pledged to, some variety of the manager plan is now placed at two hundred twenty.*        ::        ::        ::        ::        ::        ::        ::        ::

### VIII. PROGRESS OF MANAGER MOVEMENT IN ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION

THE states grouped in this series are Montana, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona, there being yet no city manager in Wyoming or Idaho.

#### COLORADO

##### *Water Plant Nets \$33,000*

**BOULDER.** Population, 10,989. City-manager charter with proportional representation effective January, 1918. Scott Mitchell, the third manager, succeeded W. D. Salter, September, 1920; salary, \$4,000.

Mr. Salter shortly before resigning reported:

The city tax rate is 10 mills and it has not been raised during the past three years. During last year the city retired water bonds to the amount of \$65,000. Another issue of \$75,000 water bonds is due on July 1 of this year, and preparations are under way for retiring about \$25,000 of this issue and refunding the remainder.

In November of last year the citizens voted an issue of \$100,000 of 5 per cent bonds to be used for the purpose of building a memorial park in honor of the boys of this county who participated in the late war. Within the past week a site has been selected for this purpose and negotiations are under way for acquiring the land. During February of this year the city acquired by purchase 160 acres of land to add to its mountain park system. The city has acquired 400

acres of mountain lands lying in the drainage area of its domestic water supply. The latter purchase was made for the purpose of securing control of this land to prevent possible contamination to its water. Close watch was kept over the water supply and analyses are made twice a week. The milk and cream supply is closely watched and frequent tests are made.

There was considerable improvement work done during the year 1919 in the way of construction of sanitary sewers, alley pavements and three and one-half miles of water transmission lines, the latter being completed and put in operation the last of December, 1919. Plans are under way and contract will soon be let for additional alley paving amounting to about \$16,000.

The auditor's report for the water department shows that at the close of the year 1918 there was a deficit of \$3,800, while during the year 1919 the plant made net earnings of \$33,634. The other city departments closed the year with unexpended appropriations of \$7,558 against a deficit for 1918 of \$2,848.

The city has recently purchased a motor fire truck and a motor sprinkler and flusher.

The manager's report concludes: "It cannot be expected that the city-manager form of government meets with the unanimous approval of all citizens, but the sentiment in this city



seems to be greatly in its favor and the temper of our people is splendid."

**DURANGO.** Population, 5,300. Commission-manager charter succeeded old style commission plan March, 1915. W. H. Wigglesworth, the second manager, was appointed April, 1919; salary, \$1,800.

Mr. Wigglesworth is 53 years old, trained in engineering, with experience in municipal work.

**MONTROSE.** Population, 3,581. Commission-manager charter effective February, 1914. R. P. Hilleary, the fourth manager, resigned in October, 1920, being succeeded by J. E. McDaniel, who served as manager in 1916 and 1917.

Considerable attention has been paid to public welfare in Montrose this past year. Weekly band concerts and community singing at the city hall have proved popular.

**COLORADO SPRINGS.** Population, 29,572. On July 6, 1920, a commission-manager charter was adopted by a large majority. It becomes effective in April, 1921, superseding the straight commission form which had proved unsatisfactory.

#### NEW MEXICO

##### *Albuquerque Wiping Out Deficit*

**ALBUQUERQUE.** Population, 15,157. Commission-manager charter effective January, 1918, and amended in 1919 to increase the number of commissioners from three to five. James N. Gladding, the third manager, was appointed February, 1920; salary, \$5,000.

Mr. Gladding succeeded A. R. Hebenstreit, who sums up the achievements of the past year:

Inherited overdraft of \$26,000 was reduced \$7,000 in 1918 and \$11,000 in 1919, the balance of \$8,000 being provided for in the 1920 budget. During the past two years \$80,000 has been placed in the sinking fund to reduce the bonded

indebtedness. Albuquerque will be on a strictly cash basis from now on. Financial matters have been systematized.

The net profits for the water department during the past year are approximately \$30,000. A contract for \$30,000 worth of paving was let last summer, and of the nearly 800 property owners affected only 14 opposed the paving.

The viaduct over the Santa Fe tracks has been rebuilt at a saving of \$2,000 under the estimated cost.

Approximately \$7,000 was contributed by public subscription for the purchasing of a playground for the children, and a "library drive" yielded over 2,000 books for the public library.

There is a movement on foot to extend the city limit in four directions which would increase the population 50 per cent.

Mr. Gladding is 41 years old, was formerly city engineer of Albuquerque and El Paso.

##### *Everybody Satisfied at Roswell*

**ROSWELL.** Population, 7,062. Manager plan by ordinance May, 1914. Clyde Fulton, the third manager, succeeded A. G. Jaffa March, 1920.

Motor trucks and tractors installed last year have resulted in 50 per cent saving, "with more and better work done and everybody satisfied, and that is saying a lot for this city." A program of improvements has been planned, and the engineering and construction will be handled by the city.

Mr. Jaffa, who served for four years, is 38 years old, a civil engineer with municipal experience.

##### *Delinquent Collections Reduced*

**CLOVIS.** Population, 5,150. City-manager plan by ordinance June, 1919. Oscar Dobbs, manager; salary, \$3,600.

Mr. Dobbs submitted the following report after the first six months:

Last June the outstanding accounts against the city, excepting bonds, amounted to slightly

over \$40,000. These are now reduced to \$32,000 without any increase in water and light rates and with no tax receipts, and this in face of the fact that all materials have increased in price and that we have raised our labor 70 per cent during this time by changing from 12- to 8-hour shifts and raising wages. We have accomplished this by paying cash for everything we buy and applying the surplus on the outstanding accounts.

Heretofore it has cost us \$50 to \$75 per month to cut off delinquent customers of the water and light department. Our new system has cut the delinquent list which ranged from 100 to 180 each month to four last month, and beside saving this amount we have made the discount pay us on an average of \$90 per month since the system was installed. We have also installed a more suitable system of bookkeeping, which enables us to keep the records in a more systematic manner and saves quite a little work and confusion.

By promptly answering letters from our creditors, and telling them the truth about our condition, and paying them when we make a promise, we have to a large extent re-established our credit.

We have graded and improved quite a number of streets and have them in better condition than ever before and have placed our water and light plant in good condition.

We have started proceedings for paving 15 blocks in our business district and will vote on bonds in April for sewer extension, water development, street improvement and a new city hall, amounting in all to about \$150,000, which we believe will carry. The new form of government seems to be pleasing the people, although I think it would be more satisfactory under a more comprehensive ordinance, or better yet, under a good charter.

Mr. Dobbs is 26 years old and is trained in business and engineering.

#### UTAH

##### *Both Parties Pledged to Plan*

BRIGHAM CITY. Population, 5,282. Manager plan created by ordinance February, 1918. C. O. Roskelley, manager; salary, \$2,400. Mr. Roskelley writes:

An entirely new set of books has been installed

and a budget system adopted for the first time, which has worked well.

During the year 1918, an \$80,000 water system was installed which is fed from a spring direct. In 1919 a 40,000 square yard paving program was put over and practically completed with all the curb and guttering, driveways, and water extensions necessary.

Municipal electric light poles were moved from the center of the street and an interior block construction installed in the business section comprising eight blocks. A modern lighting system was installed throughout the business section, while the extension of this is contemplated this year. Sidewalk extensions and irrigation work have been cared for regularly.

The plan seems to have given excellent satisfaction in general. It has been difficult to put over some improvements, inasmuch as this is the first time that the old party politicians have not had the say. While there were two tickets in the field last fall, both parties adopted a platform and pledged themselves to support the city-manager plan. I believe fully 90 per cent of the populace are favorable.

Mr. Roskelley is 34 years old and an experienced engineer.

#### ARIZONA

##### *Improvements Without Increased Taxes*

PHOENIX. Population, 29,053. Commission-manager charter effective April, 1914. V. A. Thompson, the third manager, appointed January, 1918; salary, \$7,500.

He reports:

The most important piece of work begun is the new \$1,300,000 water works system. An adequate supply of pure, soft water will be brought from the Verde River, a distance of 33 miles.

Other improvements include the initiation of a movement for the erection of a combined city hall and county court house; the addition of 600 acres to the present incorporated limits of the city; the paving of several miles of streets, with plans approved at the present time for 12 more miles, and construction is under way at the rate of 20,000 yards per month; the adoption of a comprehensive traffic ordinance, and the ex-



tension of the water works and sewer systems to provide water and sewer for the many new homes that are being built in Phoenix.

In 1919, 1,081 building permits were issued, representing a total valuation of \$2,368,958, an increase of 322 per cent over the previous year.

The net earnings of the water department for 1919 were more than \$75,000 over and above the interest on bonds, operating expenses and sinking fund.

In spite of the rapid increase in the cost of material and labor the assessed valuation and tax rate have not been increased during the past year.

Mr. Thompson is 37 years old, a mechanical and electrical engineer. Prior to his appointment as manager, Mr. Thompson had charge of the Phoenix water works, sewer, and street department.

#### MONTANA

##### *Complete Information on Public Affairs*

GLASGOW. Population, 3,500. Manager plan installed by ordinance of the council July, 1916. Harvey Booth, the present manager, was appointed March, 1918; salary, \$2,100.

A modern filing system has been installed, which furnishes complete information on all public matters. Centralized purchasing has brought excellent results, and city finances are now in first class condition.

All light and power services have been metered, and the system is giving general satisfaction. The installation of a master meter at the plant furnishes adequate means of checking wastage.

Plans have been undertaken to beautify the city, and the cemetery has been greatly improved. Trees and hedges, recently planted, are doing well, and a full-time caretaker has been employed. A great deal of work has been done this past year by the street department, and the streets are in very good condition.

#### *A Manager "defacto"*

SCOBEEY. Population, 1,500. Manager plan by evolution effective January, 1920. Ray N. Stewart holds the positions of city clerk, clerk of the health board, city engineer, superintendent of water works and sewers, with full supervision over all departments of the city except the police court; salary, \$2,100.

A complete audit of the city's business from the date of its incorporation, installation of modern accounting methods and a program of improvements are reported.

COLUMBUS. Population, 1,000. Manager plan by ordinance November, 1918. Harry P. Schug, the third manager, was appointed March, 1919; salary, \$1,800. He is 27 years old, and taught school after graduating from college in 1916.

#### IN CONCLUSION

When this series of articles started in the May, 1920, issue of the REVIEW, there were 185 municipalities in this country and in Canada, reported as operating under, or pledged to, the city-manager plan of government. By March, 1921, this number had increased to 220, 216 in the United States and four across the border in the Dominion. Of this 220, it appears that some 151 have adopted the plan by charter or charter amendment, while the remaining 69 have simply created the position of manager by local ordinance.

In spite of the attacks, inevitably launched against any new movement, no city which has adopted the manager plan of government by vote of the people, and given it a trial of at least one year, has yet gone back to the old way of conducting city business.

# DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

## I. BOOK REVIEWS

### MUNICIPAL LANDING FIELDS AND AIR PORTS.

Edited and compiled by George Seay Wheat.  
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920.  
Pp. 96 with map.

This little book consists of a compilation of monographs by the chief of the Army Air Service, the director of Naval Aviation and subordinate officers in charge of landing field operations. As a result, it is written almost exclusively from the military and naval point of view, with only casual attention to the needs and interests of municipalities contemplating the establishment of a landing field or airport. The directions given for the construction of hangars, shops, etc., have been taken directly from army and navy specifications, and are therefore quite beyond both the financial means and the actual needs of the average community.

The arguments in behalf of widely distributed air stations are convincing, but the effect is somewhat spoiled by their tiresome reiteration in successive chapters.

The publication of this volume is greatly to be regretted, in so far as its appearance will operate to discourage a more complete and a worthier treatment, and one which would really contribute to the extension and intensive development of commercial aviation.

CLARENCE B. SMITH, JR.



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK. By Arthur Sweetser. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920. Pp. 215.

After all the wild and whirling words of partisan propaganda, all the plain and fancy lying of the recent campaign, it is not only refreshing, indeed it goes far toward restoring one's faith in human nature, to chance upon such a book as Mr. Arthur Sweetser's "League of Nations at Work."

As a member of the American Peace Commission and later of the Provisional Secretariat of the League of Nations, the author enjoyed exceptional opportunities to inform himself at first hand upon the workings of the League. Unlike ninety-nine out of every hundred writers on this

subject he is able to approach it in an equable temper. Frankly admitting that he is "a friend of and a believer in the League," he nevertheless sees clearly that "its friends are tempted to exaggerate it as a panacea for all world ills; its enemies to misrepresent it as a superstate." Our author manages to avoid both these extremes. Finally Mr. Sweetser possesses the gift of lucid exposition in the simplest possible language. The least, as well as the most technical of readers will find a surprising amount of easily assimilable information in his brief chapters which take up in order all the principal structures and functions of the League,—the assembly, council, secretariat, permanent court, international labor and health organizations, etc.; disarmament, mandates, freedom of transit, economic co-operation, open diplomacy, and mediation.

Mr. Sweetser's book should be widely read. It is to be hoped that a second edition will be issued soon summing up the notable progress made by the League during the recent meetings of the assembly in Geneva.

ROBERT C. BROOKS.

Swarthmore College.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS UNDER IRRIGATION. By George Thomas. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920. Pp. 293.

In this book of 285 pages which deals with the appropriation and use of water for irrigation in the state of Utah, the author has spared no pains in presenting historical facts relating to the various irrigation enterprises within Utah. He gives an excellent picture of the methods employed by the Mormon community, in bringing to a consummation the diversion of the water from the stream and its distribution to the farms, laying emphasis on the fact that the religious element must be considered and understood, in order that the social and economic problems of the state may be fully comprehended. Co-operation in the establishment of the town, in the subdivision of the land and in the construction of the irrigation system, was the essential factor which gave direction to irrigation development



and led to success. It was not, in the early days, a question of financing big enterprises. Each problem as it arose was solved in the simplest way possible and not because it might not have been better otherwise, but because the better solution was beyond the reach of the first settler. To foresee the difficulties that were sure to arise between adverse claimants to the same water and to protect those who had well-established rights, legislation was early enacted. This is fully discussed by the author who points out that even the irrigation district law, under which so much was accomplished in other states, was anticipated in Utah. The pioneers of Utah had the wisdom to recognize that the waters of the stream in the arid regions must be held available for those who can put it to beneficial use and they, therefore, abrogated the doctrine of riparian rights, thus avoiding the difficulties with which some other states are still struggling in the endeavor to define and limit water rights. The fact that frequently irrigation enterprises received the financial aid of cities, counties and of the territory is mentioned, and that under the Enabling Act, under which Utah was admitted to statehood, 500,000 acres were given to the state to aid in the establishment of permanent reservoirs. The foundation for state aid to irrigation enterprises was thus early laid. The author gives a full account of the control of water by cities, reviews court decisions and touches upon the operations under the Carey Act, and by the Reclamation Service. The book is not alone of historical value, being somewhat on the order of what might have been expected if the state or federal government had undertaken similar studies, but contains much of interest to those concerned with the establishment of a sane policy of development under irrigation.

C. E. GRUNSKY.

THE PRICE OF MILK. By Clyde L. King. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1920. Pp. 336.

Dr. King's discussion of the factors which govern the price of milk is not academic. The principles he discusses are determined by experience, and largely by experience created by his own genius. The book has the stamp of authority unmistakably impressed on it from cover to cover. Its author has occupied a rather unusual position. As arbiter between producer and dis-

tributor he has always represented also the consuming public. And in his official capacities he has, with rare skill, acquired the confidence of producer and distributor, while consistently representing the public interests.

Of course this is in line with modern economics. The business which builds permanently must protect its ultimate customers, since they are its source of revenue. The old, time-honored business theory, which is still in control in most of our retail enterprises, that you can make the consumer pay for all your blunders, stupidity and laziness by including them in the mark-up, has no place in this book. Nor is its author wasting any sympathy on the producer who fails to study the principles of his business, the distributor who clings to antiquated and expensive delivery systems, nor the consumer who wants milk for less than its cost plus a fair profit for those necessarily employed in its production and distribution.

The factors of cost are thoroughly analyzed. To the lay mind the tables and charts will be perhaps of little interest. To the producer and distributor they are of such importance that he must master them if he would safeguard his own business.

But even where tables and charts are skipped or skimmed over, the book is full of interest for anyone who is awake to the importance of wholesome food, protected from contamination, delivered at fair cost. And the chapter on the food value of milk ought to be taught in every school and woman's club in the United States. The book itself will probably appeal more to the managers of the milk-producing plants, to those interested in products from milk and to the officials of the distributors.

Primarily it is the work of an economist who has made an exhaustive study of his subject, and whose mind is so crammed with vital facts regarding the business of producing and distributing, that he is forced to write from a managerial standpoint.

But the book is intelligible—with some effort—to those whose training has not been managerial in character. And every woman's club in the country ought to appoint some one or more of its brightest and most progressive members to make a study, condensation and report for the benefit of the club. The book should be in the hands of every chamber of commerce in every city and town of the country, as it is alive with facts that are of vital importance to the health

of the communities in our crowded cities and towns. And—though this is only a hope, unrealizable, probably—it ought to be studied from cover to cover by every employer of factory labor; as the efficiency of his employes, the health of their families, the sources of his future labor, all are wrapped up very largely in this matter of wholesome milk at a fair price. When the business men of the community study the economics of their local milk production and distributing systems, milk is going to reach their markets in wholesome condition and at a price within the reach of everyone who works.

The book is by all odds the most valuable contribution to the subject of the economics of milk production and distribution that has ever been offered. Coming, as it does, from the highest authority on the subject, its importance cannot be overstated.

A. B. Ross.



THE HOUSING FAMINE: HOW TO END IT. A triangular debate between John J. Murphy, Edith Elmer Wood and Frederick L. Ackerman. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1920. Pp. 246.

In the triangular debate on "The Housing Famine and How to End It," Mr. John J. Murphy, secretary of the New York tenement house committee, Mrs. Edith Elmer Wood, author, and Mr. Frederick L. Ackerman, architect, each start with a well-defined thesis which they metaphorically nail to the oaken panels and valiantly defend as adequate answers to the seven questions propounded as the field for debate: I, Conditions—Causes—Remedies; II, Shall public credit be employed? III, Shall we have municipal housing? IV, Shall we exempt mortgages and improvements from taxation? V, How shall we deal with congestion? VI, How can land, labor and materials be made available? VII, What are the first steps?

Apparently the debaters agree that there is a serious housing shortage which has resulted in the social menace of congestion. To bring about an adequate supply of houses to the end that all may have decent living quarters:

Mr. Murphy proposes alleviations. He advocates taking off the government brakes by removing the tariff from foreign building materials, exempting incomes derived from mortgages from the federal income tax, likewise the state

income tax, abolishing the real estate tax on buildings, repealing the so-called usury law, taxing land titles and exempting productive enterprises and then bidding the private citizen god-speed on his enterprise of home building.

Mrs. Wood advocates "(1) the immediate appointment of national, state, and local housing commissions to study the subject; (2) long-time housing loans to workingmen at low interest rates under the auspices of federal and state governments; (3) municipal housing at cost for lower-paid wage-earners, and slum clearance where necessary."

Mr. Ackerman finds little to agree to in either remedy. He joins the plea for tariff revision and admits the value of gathering information and knowledge having to do with housing and town planning. He believes that "congestion of populace follows upon a concentration of industry; and that concentration of industry is consequent upon concentration of wealth (economic power) in the hands of individuals," and "that the only way to arrest the drift of population into industrial centers is to effect a redistribution of wealth." He advocates a "shift of control over industry from the field of financial business to that of technology"; in other words from the financier to the specialist! He opposes government subventions and awaits the day when no longer may there be a "legal right to acquire wealth without rendering service in return."

Meantime, whether by Mr. Murphy's individual enterprise, by Mrs. Wood's government intervention and subvention, or by Mr. Ackerman's new industrial system, these three agree with most of us that we want to house decently our entire population, a desire which does us credit, but a consummation which has not been achieved in our past history. We have a social as well as an economic problem. At the very time when the minimum cost of shelter has risen out of all proportion to the minimum cost of food and clothing we are trying to push up the minimum standard of living. And the only hopeful thing about it all is that our social conscience has been pricked into activity to the end that we shall not rest content until we have achieved the hitherto impossible.

Read the book and form your own conclusion. In these untried fields one man's—or woman's—solution is as good as another's until he is proved wrong.

HARLEAN JAMES.



INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC FINANCE. Fourth Revised Edition. By Carl C. Plehn. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920. Pp. xix+446.

SELECTED READINGS IN PUBLIC FINANCE. Second Revised Edition. By Charles J. Bullock. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1920. Pp. x+920.

All students of public finance will welcome the new editions of these two standard works. The first edition of Professor Plehn's work appeared in 1896, the last one prior to the new edition in 1909; the previous edition of Professor Bullock's readings was published in 1906. As Professor Plehn points out in his preface, the world has been moving rapidly during the past two decades and momentous changes have taken place in governmental finance.

Among the important changes have been the development of national and state income taxes, profits taxes and inheritance taxes; the modification and improvement of the general property, business and corporation taxes; the creation and increasing importance of state tax commissions and of national and state tax associations, the wider study of tax and budgetary problems and the gradual elimination of the worst abuses; the growing functions of all governments and especially of municipalities; and the great increase in public expenditures and public debts and consequently the necessity for greater revenues.

Neither Professor Plehn nor Professor Bullock has changed the general plan of his book. With few exceptions, the chapter titles are the same in the new as in the previous editions. Professor Plehn has added brief chapters on the growth of public expenditures and profits taxes. He has rewritten his chapters on income taxes, inheritance taxes and the shifting and incidence of taxation. He has given brief discussions, also, of increment value land taxes, the capital tax and other recent reforms accomplished and proposed and on the whole has brought his work up to date. The pages in the new edition are slightly larger than those of the previous one, but they are 34 fewer in number.

Professor Bullock's readings are by nature not so susceptible of revision by rewriting as by additions and substitutions. His new edition contains 27 chapters as did the first edition, but has 920 pages as compared with 671 pages in the earlier edition. The use of India paper prevents the new edition from being overponderous. Comparatively little in the first edition has been

left out of the second, and a large part of the additions are papers by Professor Bullock relative to state and local tax problems. Many of these papers were originally printed in the proceedings of the annual conferences of the National Tax Association, in which Professor Bullock has been one of the leading spirits. Especially important are the two new chapters on problems in state and local taxation in the United States, and problems of tax administration. The former contains the preliminary report of the committee of the National Tax Association upon a plan for a model system of state and local taxation.

He has omitted the chapters on the custody and disbursement of public money, central control of public finance and taxes upon commodities, though chapters under other titles touch upon some of these matters. The treatment of corporation and inheritance taxes is brought nearer to date. British and German increment taxes are discussed, and there is one reading on the federal income tax of 1913.

There are, however, no discussions of later federal income taxes or profits taxes; the war taxes of 1898 are the latest treated in the chapter on internal revenue, and the five chapters on public debts and sinking funds contain nothing later than 1892; in fact, most of the readings in these five chapters go back a century or more and throughout most of the book, there is an antiquarian flavor. The statistical appendix is omitted from the revised edition.

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FREEDOM OF SPEECH. By Zechariah Chafee. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920. Pp. 431.

COLLECTED LEGAL PAPERS. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920. Pp. 316.

Professor Chafee's volume is both historical and analytical. It reviews the federal espionage and sedition acts and the important cases arising under them. It surveys state sedition laws and indicates some of the enormities and abuses that have flowed from them. The deportation cases are fully covered and the expulsion of socialists from legislative bodies is described. Those who have not had occasion to inquire into the lines of official activity with which Professor Chafee deals will doubtless be surprised at the lengths to which governmental control over opinion has gone. "Almost all the convictions," he says,

"have been for expressions of opinion about the merits and conduct of the war. It became criminal to advocate heavier taxation instead of bond issues, to state that conscription was unconstitutional though the Supreme Court had not held it valid, to say that the sinking of merchant vessels was legal, to urge that a referendum should have preceded our declaration of war, to say that the war was contrary to the teachings of Christ. Men have been punished for criticising the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A., while under the Minnesota espionage act it has been held a crime to discourage women from knitting by the remark: 'No soldier ever sees these socks.'"

Any informed scholar who knows the history of American constitutional law will bear out the conclusion here temperately drawn to the effect that official interference with private rights was carried to its highest point during the recent war. The statutes enacted were more sweeping and drastic in their terms, the language of many judges was more intemperate, and the penalties imposed upon offenders more savage than ever before in our history. Not even during the Civil War when the nation was in grave peril of dissolution did official intervention with private opinion go to such extreme lengths. How far this has been contrary to the spirit and genius of our people is a matter of conjecture. Those who are inclined to be optimistic take consolation in the election returns of 1920.

Professor Chafee is not content with descriptions. He endeavors to reach a certain sound conclusion which may be used as a guide in future times of crisis. He takes no doctrinaire position. He believes that some speech must be suppressed, but that action should be proportioned to emergency. He deplores that construction of constitutional right which makes speech punishable whenever "the natural and reasonable effect of what is said is to encourage resistance to law." For such loose and general terms he would substitute something more precise: he would make punishable only those words that come close to *injurious conduct*. This is undoubtedly helpful to lawyers who are accustomed to think of life in terms of words.

A critical analysis of the great cases from the days of Charles I down to the administration of President Wilson seems to show that the precise verbal form of the law has not mattered so much after all. The same law means one thing to one judge and jury and another thing to another judge and jury. The espionage act was one thing

in New York and another thing in Kansas City. Though the value of legal precision is unquestionable, it is after all the spirit of a people that gives or withholds liberty. If a nation loves liberty, it does not need bills of rights and paper declarations; if it does not love liberty, then all the fine professions of faith imaginable are of no avail. Alexander Hamilton, a shrewd observer of human nature, once remarked that mankind was always on the way between hemlock and monuments. He made no chauvinistic reservations.

This is not to be interpreted to mean a criticism of Professor Chafee's important work. Every lawyer and law student in America should have to pass an examination in it before being allowed to practice upon the American people. It is a sane, thoughtful, and helpful book. Our gratitude to the author is immense—beyond words. Those who have closely watched the evolution of academic silence in the United States will not overlook the fact that Mr. Chafee is a professor in the Harvard Law School and labors under the jurisdiction of one college president who survived the war.

It is more than a coincidence that the collection of legal papers before us is also a Harvard product. Mr. Justice Holmes is the author and Mr. Harold J. Laski is the editor. Some of the essays are highly technical and deal with such matters as early English equity, agency, malice and intent, and executors. The remaining papers are short addresses and reviews prepared for divers occasions. Through them all there breathes that spirit of geniality, flexibility, and common sense which we have long been accustomed to associate with the name of the author. One can only wish that John Marshall had left something behind besides his pontifical robes.

CHARLES A. BEARD.



**AMERICAN POLICE SYSTEMS.** By Raymond B. Fosdick. New York: The Century Company, 1920. Pp. 408. (Publications of the Bureau of Social Hygiene.)

"American Police Systems," by Raymond Fosdick, is a book which should be read by every person interested in the general problems of municipal government as well as by those whose primary concern is in police administration. Although special emphasis is placed upon the functions and workings of the police department, the book is really a cross-section of local

government in this country. The information which is presented and the conclusions arrived at are the result of a two years' investigation covering over 70 cities in all parts of the United States, and the work is made especially valuable by frequent comparisons with European practice based upon the author's earlier volume on "European Police Systems."

Mr. Fosdick opens his discussion with a contrast between the amount of crime in the United States and European countries, especially England. The statistics quoted by him show that the homicides in a single American city, such as New York or Chicago, often surpass in a year the record for the whole of England and Wales. But the blame for this showing is placed not so much upon the police themselves as upon the courts, politics and the attitude of the public, which more or less condones a lax enforcement of the laws. He also mentions the fact that the American police problem is much more difficult than in European cities because of our heterogeneous population with its large number of unassimilated or poorly assimilated races. A final disadvantage under which American police departments are laboring is to be found in the presence on our statute books of laws which are unenforceable, because they interfere with customs widely practiced and generally regarded as innocent. In no other country is an attempt ever made to enforce standards of individual conduct which do not meet with general public approval, or to govern by means of law things which in their nature do not admit of objective treatment and external coercion.

The chapters on the organization of the department, the commission or director, the chief of police, the rank and file of the department, and the detective force contain numerous criticisms, especially when comparisons are made with European cities. But the author is not content with mere criticism, for this part of the book is full of constructive and practical suggestions for improvement. The essentials of efficient police organization, in Mr. Fosdick's opinion, are: first, that the relation between supervision and the detailed work of the department must be well balanced. The department should not be overloaded and top-heavy as in certain medium-sized cities where there are as many as four different supervisory authorities governing police forces of a hundred or so men; nor must there be under-supervision such as is found in some large cities where the police, fire, licensing and other

departments are all under the same head. Secondly, the different parts of the machinery must be adjusted to one another so that there will be a proper co-ordination between the various bureaus and divisions. Finally, the whole machinery must be adapted to its task, and it is in this respect that American police systems are decidedly weak. A city like Indianapolis with a fairly homogeneous population of 250,000 is policed in much the same way as Chicago with a heterogeneous population of about 2,500,000. Also within the individual cities themselves there has been little change in methods of patrol; precincts which now contain a large foreign population are patrolled in much the same manner as during the earlier days when the population was almost entirely native-born. In general cities have blindly followed the methods of neighboring localities, and there has been little attempt to fit the machinery to local needs or to modern conditions.

Inadequate leadership is regarded by the author as the most important cause for the confusion and maladjustment of our police machinery. The direction of the police force of a metropolitan city is a huge task involving the expenditure of from \$1,000,000 to \$18,000,000 per year. The head of such a department must be a man of organizing ability and eager to keep up with the advanced methods employed in private business; he must also have tact, imagination, and the confidence of his subordinates and of the public in general. Colonel Authur Woods, former police commissioner of New York, and the late Commissioner O'Meara of Boston are pointed to as men of the type suited to regenerate our police. Unfortunately it has been difficult in most cases to obtain a man of this type, partly because of politics and partly because of the limited tenure of office. In American cities, too often police commissioners are appointed because they are good Republicans or good Democrats and their term is so short, averaging from one and one-half to three years in the larger cities, that they are really "birds of passage. . . . The force gets a glimpse of them flying over but hardly has time to determine their species." This is in contrast with the situation in English and European cities where the head of the police department is a specialist who is advanced from a smaller to a larger city, whose appointment is not affected directly or indirectly by politics and whose term of office averages from 15 to 25 years.

Mr. Fosdick is of the opinion that politics lies



at the root of our present trouble and that the only way to have any substantial progress in police administration is through the development of a class of technical administrators for whom there is a great dislike in America, on the grounds that such a system is undemocratic. In answer to this criticism the author points to England and Switzerland to show that the distrust of permanent experts has no real basis if they are kept in contact with public opinion through the control of representatives of the people. The

only solution, in the author's belief, for the present difficulties of police administration is in the creation of a new public sentiment and opinion strong enough and intelligent enough to place the police and all other specialized departments on a permanent expert basis, and that the only way this can be developed is through a gradual process of popular education in favor of such a plan.

A. C. HANFORD.

*Harvard University.*

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## III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Boston City Planning Board. Sixth Annual Report for Year Ending January 31, 1920. Pp. 52.—The sixth annual report of the Boston City Planning Board is a record of achievement and one of sound advice pertaining to the many city planning problems confronting a municipality during a year.

Among the plans and recommendations prepared is one for a municipal flying field with a recommendation placing the enterprise in the

hands of a bureau of commerce and industry. This recommendation together with the preliminary study of the Atlantic Avenue water front are steps toward the rehabilitation of Boston as a seaport, raising it from fifth to second place. Defenders of Boston Common should welcome the planning board's traffic relief measure whereby traffic will be rerouted and diverted through the Stuart Street extension or Western Artery. This should eliminate the need for slicing the

Common along Boylston and Tremont Streets. The threatened loss of Castle Island as a recreation ground has been strongly opposed in the report on the ground that its loss is necessary neither for commerce or industry nor for harbor facilities.

Mention is made in the report of legislative difficulties in respect to the housing and zoning bills. Since the writing of the report the zoning bill has been declared constitutional. The planning board has had removed one of the serious obstacles to the betterment of Boston. Notwithstanding legislative difficulties the planning board has published a good report of city planning accomplishments.

WILLIAM A. STRONG.

*Cleveland City Plan Commission.*

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**Rochester [N. Y.] Bureau of Municipal Research.** Report on a Proposed Classification of Titles and Positions in the Civil Service. 1920. Pp. 173.—This report, on a proposed classification of titles and positions in the civil service, was prepared by the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research at the request of the special committee of the Rochester Council on standardization of salaries. The resolution appointing the special committee was passed in January, 1916; investigation was started in 1917 but interrupted by the War; the report was submitted on November 14, 1919. Since no action was taken by the committee for nearly a year, the bureau has now published the report under date of December, 1920, for the purpose of acquainting the public with the character of the investigation and the employment policy which has been recommended for adoption.

The report constitutes a departure from the usual standardization reports in that it does not set up standards of compensation. This problem of determining actual salary rates was not overlooked, but was left for separate consideration in a subsequent report. From a technical standpoint, it would seem to be correct procedure to separate the problem into these two component parts. But the question might be raised as to whether or not this is the best procedure when considering the practical aspect of having the scheme actually adopted by city council. Experience with city councils would lead the reviewer to believe that councilmen would be likely to consider such a refinement of technique impractical, due to the fact that their primary interest in this whole question is the amount of

salary which is to attach to various positions and that they have very little, if any, real interest in scientific classification of positions.

The principle outlined in the report as to the relation of classification and specifications to the civil service commission may be questioned by students of this problem, in view of the fact that civil service commissions have played a very conspicuous part in standardization work in a number of cities and states. The report says, "Technically speaking, salary standardization has no bearing upon the problem of the civil service commission. The classification proposed herewith is primarily for fiscal control of salaries. . . . The function of the civil service commission concerns the recruiting and promotion of employees who are in the classified service and therefore in function, must be linked to a considerable degree with the problem of salary standardization." To limit the activities of the civil service commission to recruiting and promotion of employees would seem to place unwarranted limits upon the activities of the commission. There are many who believe that the commission should be the agency for standardizing positions, writing specifications, making such changes in standards as conditions require, as well as recruiting and promoting employees.

An examination of Exhibit No. 1, which gives in comparative form the present titles of the civil service and the proposed titles, shows that the new classification follows very closely the present classification, and hence no very radical steps are proposed. The positions of the proposed classification are listed under about 80 different groups. Each standard position is separately defined and is governed by a separate statement of appointment classifications, and no attempt is made to set up standards and qualifications for the separate groups under which positions are listed.

There is need for a standard classification of positions in city service applicable to all cities of similar size, and the report under review does not contribute anything new to the technique of classification of positions.

The report as a whole seems to be well thought out and executed, the definitions of duties are concise and clear and the statement of qualifications brief and inclusive. The adoption of the report would undoubtedly constitute a very important advance in civil service procedure in the city of Rochester.

DON C. SOWERS.

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Compiled by Rebecca B. Rankin<sup>1</sup>

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# NOTES AND EVENTS

## I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

**Sacramento's New P. R. Charter.**—Under the charter recently adopted by Sacramento, the city council consists of nine members, elected under the Hare plan of proportional representation, the rules for counting the ballots being made an integral part of the charter through an appendix. The council selects the city manager, city attorney, police judge, city treasurer, city clerk and other employees of the council itself. They also elect one of their members mayor, and he is entitled to vote, but has no veto power. The council also appoints a civil service commission of three members for terms of six years and a board of education of five members for terms of five years.

The manager may be removed at any time by a vote of six members of the council without trial, except that during the first year of his incumbency he may demand a public trial and a hearing. Any employee may be suspended by him and removed upon unanimous consent of the council.

The civil service provisions of the charter are apparently its weakest feature. The heads of all departments and the chief deputies in each department are exempted from these provisions. The "rule of three" is incorporated in the charter. A preference is granted for honorably discharged veterans, their widows, or the wives of injured or disabled veterans. This preference gives any veteran who rates 65 in an examination, the passing grade of which is 70, a place at the top of the list of eligibles, ranking all persons who have not such preference. Efficiency records are required to be kept by the civil service commission. The commission also is required to determine the prevailing scale of wages in industries where wages comparable to those paid by the city are in force, and it is mandatory upon the council to adjust the wage scale accordingly.

The comptroller, appointed by the manager, in addition to the ordinary duties of such an office, is given supervision over the assessment and collection of taxes, special assessments and all other revenues of the city, and the purchase of supplies. Accounts must be kept on an accrual basis, and a property ledger is made mandatory.

A pension board is created, consisting of the

civil service commission, the city manager and the city comptroller. All employees of the city are eligible to pensions after 20 years of continuous service, or after reaching the age of 70. Members of the police and fire departments who have passed the age of 55, or employees who have passed the age of 65, may upon certifications of physicians be granted pensions. Pension shall consist of one-half of the salary paid during the year next preceding retirement. Disability relief must also be paid by the city, and in addition a disability pension is provided for permanent disability. Dependents are provided for.

The adoption of this charter by Sacramento makes it the largest city in the west operating under a commission-manager type of government, and probably the largest city in the United States using the Hare plan of proportional representation.

PAUL ELLER.

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**Congress Adjourns.**—The "lame-duck" session of congress adjourned on the eve of the inauguration of the new administration leaving civic legislation, pending and passed, as follows:

Budget bill, passed in the second session and vetoed by the President, not yet a law.

Joint committee on reorganization created by senate joint resolution 191 ready to function. Evening sessions were announced to begin immediately after adjournment of the old congress.

Calder-Tinkham housing bill (S. 4741—H. R. 15451) to establish a bureau of building construction and housing in the department of commerce, still in committee.

McCormick bill (S. 4542), to bring about a more effective co-ordination of the federal departments, to create the department of public works and the department of public welfare, together with numerous other bills to create new departments, died with the expiring congress.

Reclassification bills failed to pass during the short session. New bills will be introduced at the special session.

Jones-Esch bill (S. 4554—H. R. 14469), to exclude the national parks from the federal power act, became law by the President's signature late on the evening of March 3rd.

Smith bill (H. R. 12466), to secure easements in the southwestern corner of Yellowstone Park to dam the Falls river and flood the valley, was blocked in the house.

Walsh bill (S. 4529), to authorize the building of a dam across the Yellowstone river within three miles of its outlet from Lake Yellowstone, still in committee.



Most of these measures will come up before the special session in some form when, as Floor Leader Mondell says, congress will have nothing to do but legislate. Enormous appropriation bills were disposed of during the short session; a tariff bill was passed, which was vetoed by the president; the coal and packer bills were pushed some distance along the precarious road of legislative procedure but were not successful in completing their journey. The new congress should certainly find hard work and plenty of it, if it makes an attempt to pass legislation on all of these vital subjects.

H. J.

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**Seattle Traction Problems.**—Under municipal ownership in Seattle, an eight and one third cent fare is being collected with a very considerable falling off in traffic. Losses in population and lessening employment probably account for most of this. The higher fare is bringing in more than sufficient to pay expenses and the cash deficit which has been accumulated will soon be wiped out. For the next few months the city will have to pay its street railway bills by warrants, but the statement is made that these warrants can all be retired by June 1. The banks are taking the warrants at par and no harm is being done the employees.

It will be remembered that at the time of this purchase the council had no appraisal made of the property the city intended to buy. The fund of \$10,000 appropriated afterwards for an investigation of the street-car purchase was handed over to the mayor. The W. J. Burns' detective agency was employed to investigate possible corruption in connection with the purchase and reported that there had been no graft. A prominent attorney was retained to make a valuation of the property. He has reported that the value of the lines at the time of purchase did not exceed \$7,800,000. The price paid was \$15,000,000. The grand jury to which the mayor referred this report stated that in its judgment the value did not exceed \$5,000,000. The grand jury's report was based partly on earning power, which was unfair, because by state statute the company had been limited to a five-cent fare. In any case the people of Seattle are convinced that they paid too much for the street railways.

Recently several taxpayers brought suit to enjoin the city from paying interest due on the street railway bonds. This suit, while raising the point of fraud, is really based upon the propo-

sition that the city council has no right to draw on the general fund to operate the lines. At this writing the decision of the court is not known. As is generally known deficits in operating expenses have had to be made up by the general fund.

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**City Jobs Fail to Pay Living Wage.**—Two-thirds of the municipal employes of Philadelphia are not receiving a living wage, according to the Bureau of Municipal Research of that city. Over half of them do not come within \$300 of receiving a living wage.

Investigation shows that 7,979 employes of a total of 12,000 are receiving less than \$1,900 a year, the amount disclosed by a recent study necessary to supply a minimum living standard to a family of five. Of these, 6,968 are receiving less than \$1,600 a year, and 1,498 are getting less than \$1,300. The figures relate only to positions held by mature persons, presumably heads of families.

The report states that "the rapid falling off in the average number of persons attending the examinations, from 32.5 in 1915 to 6.7 in 1920, appears to have a striking relation to the shrinking value of the dollar during the same period. In the case of 84 of the 408 examinations in 1920, it should be added, only one applicant appeared, and in the case of 60 of these examinations no applicant at all appeared!"

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**An Optional City Manager Bill** has been introduced in the Illinois legislature to authorize cities and villages with a population of five thousand or less to adopt this form of municipal government. The Indiana bill has passed both the house and senate and now awaits the governor's signature. It is too early to report the fate of similar bills in New Jersey and Wyoming.

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**New York's Aerial Police.**—New York is the first city in the United States to have a squad of aerial police. This squad was organized by the police commissioner in November, 1918, as a division of the police reserves, under the command of Col. Jefferson De Mont Thompson. The importance of aerial protection for New York city was first demonstrated by the aviators who directed the protection of communities near Morgan, N. J., during the great catastrophe of October 4, 1917. Later the aviators proved their usefulness by directing the work of the firemen during the Greenpoint fire. The squad may be

used also for the detection of river thieves and smugglers, for heading off criminals and for carrying photographs and finger print records of

criminals, when such records are needed in a hurry. A school of aviation is maintained by the squad.

## II. COUNTY AFFAIRS

This is the year and the season when all the legislatures are in session and while at present writing, it is impossible to say what the legislatures will do, there is abundant indication that the subject of county government reform is becoming increasingly alive all over the union. There is increasing consciousness that county government is the citadel of the political boss and the political machine—the one place that is never disturbed by a reform wave.

**OKLAHOMA.** Chambers of commerce throughout the state and a number of members of the legislature have been lined up in the effort to put through a law that will make possible the application to county government of the city manager principle.

**CALIFORNIA.** This state allows counties to write their own charters just as the cities do, and several have done so, without, however, giving us an example of much radical improvement in organization. Los Angeles county did well in cutting 13 officers off the ballot. San Diego county a few years ago voted on a fairly good county manager charter, but turned it down. Now comes Sacramento county, where the victory for the National Municipal League's model charter in the city of Sacramento is being followed up by a demand for the application of the same plan to the county, and an election of freeholders to draft a new county charter has been ordered. It is not a hasty movement, but is based upon the action of a 1917 grand jury which recommended such reorganization. It is possible by fast work to draft the charter and get its ratification by both the voters and the legislature this year.

In Alameda county, the long fight for the consolidation of Oakland, Berkeley and the other East Bay cities and the county into a single city-county government still goes on. A special constitutional amendment facilitating it was passed in 1918. Fifteen freeholders were elected to draft the new charter for the city and county of Alameda on February 3, 1921. The creation of a city-county manager has been from the beginning a feature of the plan of the promoters of the movement. After the charter is drafted some sections of the county will be free to exercise their own option as to whether they join the new

city-county merger or set up a new and separate county.

**MONTANA.** Commercial interests in Anaconda and Butte have taken to the legislature a proposal for optional city-county consolidation. Such a bill is reported to have passed one house under the leadership of Representative H. A. Gallwey.

**WISCONSIN.** An effort is under way to secure a constitutional amendment permitting city-county consolidation at Milwaukee. The county supervisors have opened war upon the proposal.

**KANSAS.** Representative Ralph Snyder of Jefferson county introduced a constitutional amendment permitting counties to adopt a commission-manager plan with three county commissioners elected by districts and a "business manager" who would appoint the county clerk, treasurer, the clerk of the district court, registrar of deeds and all the other officials, except the probate judge who would remain elective. Representative Snyder is president of the Kansas state farm bureau and a leading farmer. He reports "there is considerable sentiment for this kind of a proposition here, but it seems we were unlucky in getting before the wrong committee," and the proposition died in committee.

**INDIANA.** The senate has passed constitutional amendments to lengthen the terms of county recorder, auditor, treasurer, sheriff, coronor and clerk of the circuit court to four years, and to eliminate mention of the county surveyor from the constitution, thus clearing the way for the abolition of that office. It also passed another constitutional amendment making the term of office of prosecuting attorneys four years instead of two.

**PENNSYLVANIA.** The commission on constitutional amendment and revision in its early draft cleared the way for sweeping changes in county government, but the county job-holders manifested their opposition, and the commission, with very little debate, restored the old provisions. The county of Philadelphia, however, was reserved for special treatment, and under the proposed provision a law may be enacted abolishing any county office in Philadelphia and transferring its duties and powers to a city



officer. Important court consolidations are provided for and the mandamus evil is straightened out. The whole revised constitution as submitted by this commission is of uncertain importance, for no effort is being made to pass the new provisions in the legislature by the amendment process, and efforts are being concentrated on the calling of a constitutional convention which will presumably do the work all over again in its own way.

At Pittsburg, the Oakland board of trade has sent a memorial to the legislature urging the abolition of the board of assessors of the city of Pittsburg as a needless duplication of the work of the county assessors.

NEW YORK. Considerable but rather aimless discussion has been indulged in by the press in favor of charter revision in New York city, but the nearness of the next municipal election (November, 1921) makes it difficult to keep such endeavors apart from muckraking investigations. Reorganization and simplification of the five counties within the greater city has been a favorite topic in the discussion, and would be the most obvious objective of any charter committee.

A constitutional amendment which passed last year, and is up for second passage, provides that the legislature may provide by law for a form of government for the county of Westchester or of Nassau, populous suburban counties adjacent to the city of New York. Such new forms of government would be subject to adoption and approval by the electors of such county in an odd numbered year. There is some opposition from local office-holders. A member of the Westchester board of supervisors, for example, said: "If you think five men can run the county's affairs better than 40, then you are thinking of something that will tend to destroy what we now have here—a truly representative government." Re-passage of the amendment seems likely, and, if approved by the voters next November, would lead to the passage of a law providing the new form of government in 1922 or 1923, subject to adoption by the people of the two counties in November, 1923, and a possible wait of another year or two for the election of officials under the new plan.

The New York State Association, a new statewide civic association, has taken over the work of the defunct County Government Association, and a strong committee on county government

has been created which expects to make studies and present legislative remedies to the next legislature.

A legislative investigating committee which submitted a rather pointless report on county government last year has reported favorably a constitutional amendment permitting the legislature to make new forms of government available to all counties. The bill does not, however, remove the requirement that sheriff, clerk, register and district attorney must be elective, so little can be gained.

NEW JERSEY. A legislative investigation of Hudson county has been ordered.

OHIO. Mayor John Galvin of Cincinnati in his annual message, facing some consequences of the famous Smith one per cent tax law, proposes the division of Hamilton county and a creation of the separate county of Cincinnati with boundaries coterminous with the city. The effect would be to stop a transfer of certain funds which are raised in the city and expended in the rural section of Hamilton county.

MASSACHUSETTS. In this state county governments do not amount to much, but they have enough patronage to support what are known locally as the "county rings." Governor Cox, with the support of the Republican state platform and of the presiding officers of the legislature in their addresses when they took their chairs, has proposed the transfer of the penal institutions of the county to the state, which, in turn, would clear the way for the abolition of county commissioners, sheriff and the other county officials, leaving the county only a memory except for the election of district attorneys. A joint special committee on investigation of county government was created in January and is required to report March 31. The principal argument for the transfer of the county penal institutions to the state is the fact that in some of the jails there are often fewer prisoners than there are attendants and the per capita cost is exceedingly high.

NORTH CAROLINA. The board of county commissioners of Guilford county has considered petitioning the legislature for permission to abolish the offices of county treasurer and coronor, the duties of the first to be transferred to the auditor, and of the second to the county physician.

MICHIGAN. A determined organized statewide effort to secure constitutional amendment, removing the present obstacles to the recon-



struction of county government on modern lines, under the leadership of C. Roy Hatten of the Grand Rapids Chamber of Commerce, has been fully reported in the REVIEW. A meeting of those interested has been held at Lansing and the movement has assumed such formidable dimensions that the county supervisors all over the state are giving it the compliment of panicky resistance and counter resolutions. The arguments advanced by some of the rural supervisors are delicious. The senate acted favorably on March 10. If passed it would be voted upon by the people in 1922.

OREGON. The tax supervising and conservation commission of Multnomah county, created in 1919, recommends adoption of a budget, centralization of tax levying and disbursing function and a joint tax levy of city and county. The commission was state-wide in its powers of investigation, but confined itself to Multnomah county in its report. There are now 80 taxing units in the county. One of the city commissioners of Portland utilized the occasion to urge that the true solution of the tax problem lay in consolidation of government and departments of the city and the county and the other units into a single government, and a constitutional amendment to this effect was introduced in the legislature. An organization has been formed to combat the amendment. The area included in the proposed consolidation is large, and includes mountain wilderness and small farming communities far outside the city limits of Portland.

WEST VIRGINIA. "The Bluefield Telegram"

reports in an editorial, "There is a movement on foot to provide a county manager for the various counties in West Virginia to reduce the expense of administering county affairs." We have been unable to locate further facts about that movement.

WASHINGTON. At the request of the mayor of Seattle, Walter S. Meier, corporation counsel of the city, has prepared and introduced into the legislature a constitutional amendment designed to permit the formation of combined city and county municipal corporations, with a population of at least 80,000 inhabitants, with charters written under home rule provisions similar to those by which the cities of Washington write their own charters. The amendment would apply to Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane. If passed at this session, it would be submitted to the voters November, 1922, and if legislation under its provision was adopted in the session of 1923, such consolidation of city and county could be in effect in 1924 at the earliest. Another amendment introduced by Senator Cornwell provides that the legislature shall by general law provide a system of county government for such of the counties of the state as shall elect to be organized thereunder, whereby there shall be elected only boards of county commissioners, and whereby all other county officers shall be chosen by them and hold office during their pleasure; furthermore, the legislature by general law shall provide that any county may frame a charter for its own government.

RICHARD S. CHILDS.

### III. GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE NOTES

Mr. C. O. Dustin, formerly director of the Springfield, Massachusetts, bureau, is now resident associate director of Ward, Hill, Pierce and Wells, located at 304 Flood Building, San Francisco.

Mr. C. G. Rightor and Mr. C. P. Herbert of the Detroit bureau have been making an examination of the accounting procedure of Kalamazoo, Michigan, for the city commission.

Mr. Clarence B. Greene, formerly with the Dayton bureau and now engaged privately in conducting charter campaigns, has recently conducted a successful city-manager campaign in Miami, Florida.

Mr. Luther H. Gulick, of the New York bureau, is instructing a graduate class in problems of municipal administration at Columbia University.

Two Interesting State Budgets have recently been published,—that of South Carolina prepared by Ben M. Sawyer, and that of Illinois prepared by Omar H. Wright and William H. McBain.

Mr. Carl B. Jenkins, of the Training School for Public Service, succeeds Mr. J. H. Hott, as assistant manager of the Oklahoma City chamber of commerce, in charge of the department of research. Mr. Hott has become secretary of the Brownsville chamber of commerce.

The Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency has issued a report on the high cost of elections in Chicago and Cook county. This supplements a report on the growing cost of elections issued in 1912.

Dr. D. F. Garland, formerly president of the Dayton bureau and director of public welfare in



Dayton since 1913, has resigned to become associated with the National Cash Register Company. The new position offers large opportunity for philanthropic service.

Mr. Harry Freeman, formerly of the New York bureau of municipal research, now city manager of Kalamazoo, Michigan, has resigned, effective July 1. This resignation occurs because vicious personal attacks are jeopardizing the future of the city-manager plan in Kalamazoo, which will again be voted upon. Mr. Freeman was recently offered the city managership of Dayton.

The Toledo City Journal of January, 29, 1921, contains the report of a crime survey conducted by the Commission of Publicity and Efficiency. The mayor's budget for 1921 is published by the same commission.

Mr. Gaylord C. Cummin of the New York Institute for Public Service is directing the activities of a citizens' committee looking to a reorganization of Michigan state government. A report has recently been issued.

The St. Paul Association of Commerce is in the process of establishing a bureau of research under the general direction of the association. This is similar to the bureau of municipal research of the Civic and Commerce Association of Minneapolis. Mr. Herman Egstad, commissioner of public affairs for the St. Paul Association is most active in the formation of the bureau.

Miss Mabel Inness, formerly librarian of the Municipal Reference Library and director of the Municipal Reference Bureau, of Galesburg, Illinois, has been made librarian of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia.

ROBERT T. CRANE.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS

**Resolutions on Housing and Control of Industry.**—At the meeting of the National Council of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, held in Washington January 27 and 28, there were extended discussions of the housing problem from the different business angles. Both in the addresses and in the resolutions adopted there was a wholesome recognition of the social need for good housing. The recent establishment of the civic development department under the direction of John Ihlder is further proof that the Chamber means to stress civic progress. Insofar as the resolutions point toward securing reliable information concerning housing they will be useful. The setting up of minimum standards should tend to eliminate the lower levels of housing. But it is clear that no prophet has yet come forth from the wilderness to show us the way to produce an adequate supply of good houses on a sound economic and social basis.

The council also passed resolutions advising the board of directors "to press the amendment" of the federal coal bill and the packers' bill "to conform with the fundamental American principles" of individual initiative; but the exact measures by which the council hoped to remedy the coal and packer situation were not set forth.

The Housing resolutions follow:

Whereas, there exists a serious housing shortage in the United States, and

Whereas, such a shortage constitutes a grave menace to the physical health and moral well-being of the American people, conduces to dis-

content and unrest and will, if long continued, lead to lessened efficiency and productivity, and

Whereas, providing and maintaining an adequate supply of good dwellings is essentially a business function,

Therefore, be it resolved, That we, as representatives of American business, urge that each constituent member organization of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in co-operation with the National Chamber

1. Make, or cause to be made, a thorough study of the situation in its own community which will bring out the facts as to house overcrowding, erection of unfit houses and changes in house plans or construction that tend to rob the dwelling of its character as a home.

2. Based upon the results of such study adopt a constructive program designed to secure adequate and wholesome housing for all the people.

3. Set minimum standards for light, ventilation, water supply, sanitation and proper construction and maintenance for all dwellings; and take such action as may be necessary to make its conclusions effective.

Whereas, excessive costs constitute the greatest single obstacle to a resumption of construction,

Therefore, be it resolved, That we call upon all persons engaged in the business of manufacturing building materials of every class and character, as well as upon builders and contractors, to exert their utmost efforts to the end that conditions are brought about which will result in immediate reductions in costs of construction,

That we call upon the retailers and distributors of building materials to do their full share in meeting the demand of the people for cheaper building materials. That we call upon labor engaged not only in the construction industry, itself, but in the making of the great variety of materials of all kinds entering into construction,



to do its full share, to the end that labor costs, which constitute so large a proportion of the total cost of raw materials and of building, may decline to a point where it will be possible to proceed with construction which is so essential to the health, comfort, and well-being of all the people,

That the Chamber of Commerce of the United States make such study of the housing problem, including costs of materials and labor entering into house construction as will locate the responsibility for excessive costs, and publish its finding so that all may know where the responsibility lies.

Whereas, investigations have disclosed the existence of illegal combinations in the building industry which tend to increase prices and restrict output,

Therefore, be it resolved, that we pledge our support to those who are bringing the facts to light, and

That we urge the continuance of investigations and the punishment of those guilty of illegal combinations between employers' organizations, labor organizations, or between organizations of employers and of labor.



**The National Research Council Studies State Government.**—The National Research Council in carrying out the purposes for which it was organized,—to encourage research in the physical, chemical, and biological sciences,—has undertaken certain phases of its work through a division of states relations. It is the object of this division to study the status of those departments of state governments which make use of scientific knowledge in their administration, such as boards of health, boards of agriculture, fish and game commissions, conservation commissions, offices of the state highway engineer, state geologist, state forester, etc.

The need for exact scientific knowledge in the administration of public affairs has made these departments very important parts of the system of state government. While the organization of these departments must be made consistent with the best system of government which can be devised by those who give their whole attention to this subject, scientific men may be able to make a contribution to the study of state government by showing whether the present or proposed machinery recognizes all the possibilities in the application of the scientific knowledge and in the research power of the country.

Among other divisions of the council are three which are engaged in similar studies of the conditions surrounding scientific effort in educational

institutions, agencies of the federal government, and in our scientific relationships abroad.

It was early discovered that the bad administrative organization of our state governments was an impediment to scientific and research work as well as to efficiency along other lines. For this reason the National Research Council has become interested in state administrative reorganization and is planning several studies along this line. Prof. J. R. Douglas, formerly of the University of California, has completed a comprehensive survey of California's executive organization.



**Illinois Municipal League Meets.**—The seventh annual convention of the Illinois Municipal League was held at Springfield, Illinois, on February 2 and 3. More than 80 delegates were registered, representing about 50 cities and villages. The most important subjects considered related to the problem of municipal home rule in the constitutional convention, the control of public utilities, and legislation to continue the increased tax rates authorized two years ago.

Resolutions were adopted which affirmed the position of the League in favor of constitutional provisions for municipal home rule, to support legislation to continue tax rates, to secure local control of local public utilities, in favor of an optional law for the city-manager plan, and also to endorse the report of the committee on accounting classification.

Mayor H. P. Pearsons of Evanston was re-elected president and Professor Russell M. Story of the University of Illinois was elected secretary-treasurer in place of Professor John A. Fairlie. Mayor E. E. Crabtree of Jacksonville is chairman of the legislative committee.



**The Goldsboro Bulletin** is the name of the attractive publication started by the city of Goldsboro, North Carolina, the first issue of which had just been received. It is mailed gratis to the citizens and will appear monthly. Its object is to keep the people informed on the workings of their city government in order that Goldsboro may be the best and cleanest governed city in the state. The first number contains articles on the city-manager plan of government, the city beautiful, the new traffic ordinance, the malaria control exhibit, etc. Lionel Weil, a member of our council, is an alderman of Goldsboro.